M E N E, M E N E,

T E K E L

U P H A R S I N.

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C O N T E N T S.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

ABK--- Eberhard Schrader, Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Keilinschriften, Leipzig 1872.

ANP.--- Inscription of Asurnacirpal, KB. 1. 17-26.

AR. GR.---Aramäische Grammatik, Kautzsch. 1884

ASB.--- Inscription of Sardanapalus, 5R. 1-10 ; KB. 2. pp. 1[illegible]

ASKT.--- Haupt, Akkadische & Sumerische Keilschrifttexte.

AS. --- Delitzsch Assyrische Studien. 1874

ASS.--- Assyrian.

AV.--- Strassmaier, Alphabetisches Worterverzeichniss.

BA. --- Beiträge zur Assyriologie.

Bew. d. Gl.--- Beweis des Glaubens.

BOR.--- The Babylonian and Oriental Record.

BT.--- Strass~~meyer~~maier, Babylonische Texte.

B.z. Erkl. D.B.Dan.--- Meinhold, Beiträge zur Erklärung des Buches Daniel.

Cyr. Cyl.--- The Cyrus Cylinder.

D.P --- Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies.

DGr --- Del. Ass. Gr.

Delattre,Medes--- L'Empire et le peuple des Medes.

Del. Ass. Gr.--- Delitzsch, Assyrian Grammar.

Doc. Jur.---Oppert et Menant, Documents Juridiques.

DP.--- Delitzsch Prologomena.

EM.--- Expedition Scientifique dans Mesopotamie, Jules Oppert Paris, 1859. 2 vols.

Gott. Gel. Anz.--- Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeiger.

Hal.--- Delitzsch, The Hebrew Language Viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research, London, 1883.

Heb.--- Hebraica.

Her.--- Herodotus.

HT.--- Askt.

Is.--- Isaiah.

Jen. Kosm.--- Jensen, Kosmologie.

JHUC.--- Johns Hopkins University Circular.

JRAS.--- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

KAT.--- Schrader, Die Keilinschriften & das alte Testament.

KB.--- Schrader, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek. I II & III

KT.--- Abel & Winckler, Keilschrifttexte, Berlin. 1890

Lop.--- Literaturblatt fur Orientalische Philologie, (Ernst Kuhn)

Nim. Ep.--- Haupt, Das Nimrod Epos.

Or.--- De Lagarde, Orientalia.

Psba.--- Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology.

Oppert Medes.--- Le Peuple et la Langue des Medes.

R (I. II. III. IV.)--- Vols. I. II. III. IV. of Rawlinson's Inscriptions of Western Asia.

RE.--- Real Encyclopedie.

San.--- The Prism Inscription of Sennacherib, KB2. pp. 37-42.

Sarg. Barrel.--- 1R. 36.

Strm. Nbd.--- Strassmaier Nabonidus in Bt.

Strm. Nbk.--- Strassmaier Nebuchadnezzar in Bt.

Strm. Ngl.--- Strass~~meyer~~maier, Neriglissar in Bt.

Syr. Gr.--- Syriac Grammar.

Tig.--- Inscription of Tiglathpileser the First. Kbl. 9-16.

Tsba.--- Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology.

Uag.--- Winckler, Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte. Leipzig, 1889.

Vers. Mass.--- Marseilles Version.

Xen. Cyr.--- Xenophon, Cyropedeia.

ZA.--- Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie.

Zb.--- Zimmern, Die Babylonischen Busspsalmen, Leipzig, 1885.

ZK.--- Zeitschrift fur Keilschriftforschung,1884-1885.

Θ --- Theodotion.

Note 1. Both the Greek and Latin translations have only the three words Mane, Thekel, Phares in verse 25. See below.

Note 2. Melancthon Comm. A. D. 1543 p. 39 translated by "numeravit." - cf also Polycronius, Bishop of Apamea (A.D. 431) who evidently regarded the three words as preterites translating them by ἐμέτρησεν, ἐστάθη, διῄρηται. (See A Mai Script vet. nov. collect. vol. 1)

Chapter First.

INTRODUCTION.

The story of the Feast of Belshazzar and the mysterious writing "Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin", which according to the fifth chapter of the Book of Daniel appeared as a warning to the Babylonian monarch is familiar to every reader of the Bible. The enigmatical sentence has always been one of the most puzzling of the many difficult scriptural passages which have excited the interest and baffled the ingenuity of scholars. Indeed up to the present decade really no satisfactory explanation of the problem has been attempted.

The older commentators evidently regarded the three words Mene, Tekel and Peres[1] of verses 26, 27 and 28 as substantives. Josephus for example translates them (Ant. X. 11. 3.) by Ἀριθμὸς Σταθμὸς Κλάσις; ~~Polychronius by Μέτρον Σταθμὸς Ἀνείρεσις~~ and Jerome by "Numerus, Appensio, Divisio". Jacob of Edessa explained ܦܪܣܝܢ by ܦܠܓܘܬܐ = Scissio, divisio.

Among the more modern scholars the opinion has been advanced that מנה and תקל are preterites of the verbs מנה to count and תקל to weigh respectively, and that פרס is a plural participle of פרס to divide. The translation for verse 25 was accordingly suggested "Numeravit, Numeravit, Appendit et Dividunt." See Bux-

Note 3. Compare among others Havernick---1832 who explained the form קָלַל as being caused by analogy with עָנִי. Lengerke---1835 p. 261---262 who explains the three words as participles analogous in form to אָזוּד (אָזוּד) --- Chapter 2. 5. 8. Hitzi 1850---p. 84 regarded קָלַל as a middle pronunciation between קִלֵּל and קַלָּל (from קלל) containing the double meaning "thou art weighed " and "found too light"; a rather fanciful supposition which was objected to by Kranichfeld 1868---226 the latter considered קָלַל not as a pure passive participle, but as a sort of passive preterite which passed to an intransitive קִלֵּל becoming קָלַל by assonance with עָנִי (cf. Keil Comm. 158 who translated verse 25 "Gezählt, gezählt, gewogen & in Stücke.")

torff, Lexicon s. v. [illegible] (cited also Heb. 3, 72, 29, n. 1.) J. D. Michaelis (p. 51) A. D. 1806 suggested reading [illegible] "Der Zählende (God) hat gezählt," while Deneser and Bertholdt (Comm. p. 389) following the Septuagint and Vulgate rejected one [illegible] as an error of the copyist, who according to their idea may have written the word twice. Bertholdt regarded the three words as participles translating "Gezählt ist es, gewogen ist es, getheilt ist es." This opinion which was followed with certain modifications by almost all the subsequent critics was never a satisfactory explanation, because, while it was possible to regard [illegible] as a passive participle (see below to verse 25) the form of the other words [illegible] and [illegible] always presented a difficulty. (see below page 4.)

Of late years, however, an entirely new light has been thrown on the interpretation of these words by M. Clermont-Ganneau who, in 1883, published in the Journal Asiatique (série 8. 1. p. 36 ff.) an article entitled "Mane, Thecel, Phares et le festin de Balthasar", which appeared in an English translation in Hebraica 3. 72. pp. 87---102.

M. Ganneau after briefly mentioning some of the rabbinical opinions on the subject, which will be noticed below, proceeds at once to the question of interpretation. He calls attention to the fact that the interpretation attributed to Daniel does not agree rigorously with the prophet's decipherment of the inscription ; i. e. that the interpretation given by the author in verses

26, 27 and 28 inclusive, is based only on the three words "Mene, Tekel and Peres," the plural form of the latter, פרסין, which appears in verse 25 preceded by the conjunction ו, being disregarded. This difference between the text as read and the explanation, he thought could only be explained by the supposition that the Biblical Author had to do with a set traditional phrase from which it was necessary to bring out a certain interpretation adapted to the circumstances of the case.

M. Ganneau then proceeds to explain his important discovery, which gives a new key to the meaning of the mysterious words. During an epigraphic mission to the British Museum in 1878 he found that the three letters on certain half-mina weights, which had previously been read פרס, were in reality פרש = paraš---half. As the weight bearing the inscription was equal to that of half of a light mina, he concluded that פרש must mean half-mina. This discovery led him to decide that on the set of Ninevitic weights, engraved with letters approaching in form to the Aramaean characters, the three words מנא ---mina, שקל --- shekel and פרש --- half mina were to be found, and that these three names might correspond to the three chief words of the sentence in the Fifth Chapter of Daniel.

Concluding then that the mysterious sentence may contain names of weights he proceeds to apply this theory to the interpretation

Note 4. Ganneau of course only affirmed positively concern ing mene and peres. See below.

of the phrase, suggesting a number of conjectural translations for the entire sentence no one of which throws any satisfactory light on the meaning. Reading פרס as a dual form פרסין he proposes, for example, to transfer the ן from פרסין to שקל, reading שקלן as imperative of שקל ---to weigh and translating "for every mina weigh two paras" or "a mina is a mina weigh two paras" or regarding the verb as a preterite "they have weighed two paras" etc., etc. (c.f. p. 96 ff.) The general conclusion at which he arrives is, "that the two extreme and essential terms of the phrase in Daniel are two names of weights of which one is double the other, placed in relation by a third middle term, which is either a third name of weight (that of shekel) or the verb "to weigh," from which the name of shekel is derived."

This attempt of M. Gamneau was followed up by Dr. Theodore Nöldeke in ZA 1. 414---418. Acceptin Gamneau's discovery that the phrase in Daniel 5 contains names of weights and remarking (p. 414) that שקל and מנה should never have been regarded as participial forms, according to the idea of a number of the older commentators, he explains the words מנא, שקל and פרס as regular substantives in the Absolute State. In the case of מנא he remarked that the word for mina in Syriac occurs only in the Emphatic State, ܡܢܐ, a form like ܩܢܐ---reed. Admitting that the Abso-

lute State of such words is scarcely ever found, he adds that according to all analogy and especially after the manner of adjectives and participles like [illegible], [illegible] (st. emph. [illegible], [illegible]), [illegible] would have been in the older language the **Absolute** State of [illegible].

[illegible] and [illegible] he explains as the Absolute State of [illegible] and [illegible] respectively,---forms like [illegible] --- [illegible] and [illegible]. Regarding the [illegible], [illegible] of verse 25 as a repetition of the same word he suggests accordingly the translation "A Mina, a Mina, a Shekel and half-minas.)

Still a third attempt to explain this mysterious sentence was advanced by Dr. George Hoffmann in 1887 (ZA 2. 45---48) Adhering to the idea of Nöldeke that [illegible] is a repetition of the same word he offers the translation "A Mina, a Mina in Shekels and (two) half-minas," regarding [illegible] as in apposition to [illegible]. It may be well to remark here that Nöldeke (op. cit. 415) considered it against the spirit of the language to regard [illegible] as a dual in form as did Ganneau (Heb. 3. #2. 94.---see above.) Hoffmann op. cit. 46, pointed out that in meaning at least the word has a dual force just as in [illegible]---twins.

To recapitulate briefly, Clermont-Ganneau made the discovery that the mysterious sentence contained names of weights and accor-

dinarily fixed the meaning of "Mene" and "Peres" as "Mina" and "Half-mina." About the meaning of מנא he seemed to be in some doubt, inclining however to the idea that it is a part of the verb "מנה" to weigh. Nöldeke clearly saw in מנא "the shekel" and explained the three words as substantives in the Absolute State. Finally Hoffmann suggested that "מנא" might be in apposition to "מנין" and explained the meaning of the second element of the sentence to be "A mina in shekel-pieces or gold staters."

As to the peculiar application of these names of weights to the circumstances under which the sentence appeared, Ganneau (op. cit. 99) recalls the Talmudic metaphorical usage of מנא and פרס --- mina and half-mina. The Rabbinical writers called a son worth less than his father a פרס מן פרס, a son who is superior to his father a מנה מן מנה, and a son equal to his father מנא מן מנא. (cf. Levy, Chaldaisches Worterbuch under מנא and פרס.)

In rather a vague manner he suggests that the Biblical Author may have intended some such allusion in his use of the mysterious sentence, and hints without any definite explanation that a parallel may have been meant between Nebuchadnezzar the father and Belshazzar the son. On the following page (100) referring to פרס he mentions that this word, owing to its resemblance to פרס---Persian may have determined the choice of the saying as a theme to ex-

Note 5. This paranomasia was noticed also by Bertholdt 389 and Lengerke 262.

plain the prophecy relative to the coming of the Persians. It is certainly safe to say that Ganneau arrived at no definite conclusion on this subject. On the last page (101) he compares the whole scene of Chapter 5 both to a vignette from the Egyptian Book of the Dead and to the scene often found on Assyrian seal-cylinders, representing a god seated on a throne holding a vase for libations---a candelabra---an inscription on the seal and two persons one of whom presents the other to the god. Babylon and Egypt he thought may have influenced the Author of Daniel in his description of the Feast of Belshazzar !

Nöldeke with his usual caution attempted nothing beyond the mere grammatical explanation of the words, but Hoffmann (p. 46) considered that perhaps, two half-minas referred to a division between the Mede Darius and the Persian Cyrus.

In the session of the Semitic Seminary of Johns Hopkins University of the year '86---'87 Prof. Paul Haupt suggested the following translation and interpretation of the mysterious sentence : "There have been counted a mina, a shekel and half-minas". Following up the suggestion of Ganneau he considered the mina as alluding to Nebuchadnezzar, the shekel as the symbol of Belshazzar, the unworthy successor of the great Babylonian king, and the two half-minas as referring to the division of the Empire between the

Note 6. For a collection of the opinions of the older commentators compare Pfeiffer, Dubia Vex 503, quoted Bertholdt p. 350. Also Bugati---Exposition des Johannes Constantinopolitan p. 57.

Note 7. Cf. Buxtorff Lexicon Rabb. Talm. 248 and Levy Chald. Wört. under אאלרך --- ידן --- אאא (quoted Ganneau p. 88.) For the opinion that the sentence was a cryptogram compare Pfeiffer

Medes and the Persians (cf. J. H. U. C. 458 p. 104 and J. H. U. Annual Report 1887 p. 13.)

Regarding the inability of the wise men to read and explain the mysterious sentence a great variety of conjectures have been advanced by numerous commentators.[1] Thus Lüderwald (quoted Bertholdt Com. 346) considered the portent as a vision of the King alone, which no one save Daniel, who was supernaturally gifted, could interpret. This is the same as Calvin's conjecture who said, "Non opus habemus illis conjecturis quia probabile est vel scripturam fuisse regi propositam et latuisse omnes Chaldaeos (vel ita excaecatos fuisse quemadmodum etjam Deus saepe ejusmodi stuporem denuntiat Judaeis."[2] Nothing in the text of Chapter 5 however seems to support such a view. The evident terror not only of the King but also of his Lords, and the statement in verse 8 that the wise men could neither read nor interpret the writing seem to show that the author had no intention of representing the portent as merely a freak of the King's brain.

Some of the Talmudists thought that the words were written according to the cabbalistic alphabet "atbash" i.e. one in which the first letter has as its equivalent the last, or that the characters were arranged in three lines as a sort of table and had to be read vertically and not horizontally, a circumstance that puzzled the

op. cit. 805. It is interesting to notice from the Ethiopic correspondence of Job Ludolf that a similar cryptographic method of writing, depending on the interchange of letters was known to the Abyssinians. (Compare Ba II. 110---Flemming.)

Note 8. Compare Garneau op. cit. 88.

Note 9. Compare Levy par. 5 under בוא

Note 10. Quoted Bertholdt 350.

wise men.[8] Others again considered the sentence as an anagram,[9] while Menochius and Maldonato thought that only the three initial letters of each word were written.[10]

Thube and others of his time (quoted Bertholdt, Daniel 351) held that the writing may have been in such unusual characters as to prevent its decipherment by the Hiero-grammatists. Bertholdt 379 suggested that it may have been written in some ~~characteristic~~ complicated cipher hand writing. (Characterschrift) It is worthy of record in this connection that such a great scholar as J. D. Michaelis is the author of the following wild but amusing theory. He translated the expression "end of the hand" (see below) by "the inner surface of the hand." That is, the hand must have appeared to the King as if writing from the other side of the wall, which by some mysterious means had become transparent ! The writing was therefore reversed as if in a mirror, which fact no one noticed until Daniel was summoned, who promptly read it off. (cf. Michaelis 49---50 ; also Bertholdt 350---351.)

Some scholars believed that the inscription may have been in a foreign language or character. Thus Prideau (quoted Berthold 348) suggested old Phoenician, while Pusey (Dan. 366) believed that it may have been written in the old Hebrew script.

Recent critics have inclined to the opinion that the words may have appeared to the King in the Babylonian ideographic char-

acter. So for instance Andreä in his article on the Feast of Belshazzar (Bew. d. Gl.---88 p. 263---264) and De Lagarde in his admirable review of L. Havet---La modernité des prophètes, in Mitteil. 4. 364. This theory will be discussed at length in a following chapter.

The question as to the difficulty of decipherment then narrows down to one of two hypotheses. Either the mysterious sentence appeared in an unusual form of the vernacular or in a foreign language.

The object of the following essay is to submit the entire question regarding the portent to a new examination, which may perhaps lead to a more correct understanding of the enigmatical sentence. In order to investigate the subject as thoroughly as possible, it will be necessary to study the whole Fifth Chapter of Daniel from a historical standpoint and with this object in view and for greater convenience it may be well to present a translation of the chapter with brief explanatory and philological notes.

Note. The letters refer to the additional philological notes.

Chapter Second.

Translation of the Fifth Chapter of Daniel.

Verse 1.---Belshazzar[a)1.] the King gave a great feast[b)2.] to a thousand of his lords and in the presence of the thousand drank wine.

Note 1. Belshazzar identical with Belšaruçur, the son of Nabonidus the last king of Babylon. See below.

Note 2. At such a feast the king would probably sit facing his lords at a separate table.---cf. 1 Sam. 20, 25. where the king sat during his meal on a seat by the wall, and in this connection also figure 33. in Kaulen's Assyrien & Babylonien p. 54, representing an Assyrian king taking his meal surrounded by his servants and protected by the gods.

According to Athenaeus---Deipnosoph. lib. 4, c10, on the authority of Heraclides of Cuma (Pusey Daniel 383 note 2.) This was also the custom of the Persian kings at festivals. (cf. v. Lengerke p. 243.) Posidonius (100 B. C.)---De Parth L. v. in Athen. 4, 38, quoted Pusey l. c.---gives the same account of the Parthians.

"In the presence of---before, facing them. c) κατεναντι . It is not necessary to translate by "Propinare" with Bertholdt 364, Havernick 174 etc.

Verse 2.---Belshazzar commanded, being under the influence of the wine,[a] to bring the vessels[b] of gold and silver which Nebuchadnezzar his father had taken from the Temple which was in Jerusalem ; in order that the king and his wives[c] and concubines might drink out of them.[d]

Note. The Author evidently regarded this as a terrible profanation (see verse 23.) Havernick's strange idea (p. 176.) that Belshazzar wished to honor Jehovah by using the sacred vessels finds no confirmation in the text. That the vessels were not sent for until the king was well in his cups seems to show that the Author wished to represent the command as a drunken whim.

These vessels were brought to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar at the time of the first capture of Jerusalem (597) in the reign of Jechoniah (1 Kings 24. 13) and were restored by Cyrus in the first year of his reign, along with the return of the Jewish exiles. (Ezra 1. 7 ff.)

Verse 3.---Then they brought the vessels of gold which they had taken away from the Temple of the House of God, which is in Jerusalem, and the king and his lords, his wives[e] and concubines drank out of them.

Note 1. The wife of the king who held the rank of queen was among the Assyrians and Babylonians usually she who bore the first son. (Delitsch-Mürdter. Gesch. 118.) As it is well known that the greatest freedom of life prevailed at Babylon there is nothing incongruous in the statement that women were present at feasts. According to Curtius 6. 1. they were admitted to drinking bouts. "Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est sed matronarum virginumque apud quas comites habetur vulgati coporis vilitas." It is interesting to note in this connection that Xenophon, Cyr. 5. 28. mentions the presence of a concubine at a revel of the last king of Babylon. (Pusey Daniel 382, note 2.)

Regarding the Persian customs in this matter accounts vary. According to Josephus it does not seem to have been proper for women to be seen by strangers. (cf. Ant. 11. 6. 1., referring to Esther 1. 10---12 ; the refusal of Vashti to obey the King's command to present herself before him and his lords.) On the other hand, if the record of Esther can be trusted thus far, the Queen Consort seems to have been able to invite men high in rank to dine with her and the king. (Esther 5.) In Herodotus too (5. 18) it is stated that not only the concubines, but also the young wives were accustomed to be present at Persian feasts. Plutarch asserts (sympos. 11.) that concubines were allowed at feasts but not

wives. (see Pusey Daniel 382 note 2.) This statement was applied to the Parthians by Macrobius 7. 11. (cited Häverniek 180.) Compare also Justin 41. 3, cited Pusey l. c.

It is worthy of notice that the Septuagint makes no mention of the presence of the women in this passage of Daniel. Häverniek, 338, thought that the translator deliberately omitted it as being repugnant to his ideas of propriety.

Note 2. Verse 3 is a good example of the repetition of the narrative style. One codex omits it altogether.— See Bertholdt 368, note 4.

Verse 4.---They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, brass, iron, wood and stone.

Verse 5.---At that same moment came forth fingers of a man's hand and wrote opposite the chandelier on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace ; and the king saw the hand which wrote.

Note 1. Opposite the light where the writing could be most easily seen.

There is a double Greek translation of verses 1, 4 and 5 (for

the variants, see Pusey Daniel p. 502.) In this verse the words written on the wall are transferred from verse 25, and the following interpretation is given. "Mane---it is numbered ; Phares---it is taken away, and Thekel---it is weighed." (see note to verse 25.)

Note 2. A plain stucco work or simple painted plaster. In the ruins of the palace of Nimroud a thin coating of painted plaster was discovered by Layard, (Nineveh---2. 203---Kaulen---Assyrien & Babylonien 262. 52. 109.) the colors of which when first discovered were still fresh and brilliant. The interior of later Babylonian houses was frequently painted, on the lower half of the wall more in figures, but above ornamentally. (Reber---ZA 1. 303.) That plaster mixed with ashes was used for mortar is evident from the ruins of Ur (Mugheir.), but it is probably a later development. (Reber op. cit. 145.)

Plaster seems to have been known also in Palestine; cf. Josephus Ant. 8. 5. 2. describing Solomon's palace---" ut the other part up to the roof was plastered over and, as it were, embroidered with colors and pictures."

The Feast of Belshazzar is represented by the Author to be in a room or hall, and not necessarily in a garden (Lenerke 247) or pavilion (Havernick 171.) Hetzel (cited Bertholdt 36[illegible])

thought it was in the inner court of the palace (?)

erse 6.---Then the king changed color[ab] and his thoughts terrified him, and the joints of his hips were loosened[1)] and his knees knocked one against the other.[2)]

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ote 1. Some of the interpretations of the older commentators are very grotesque. Grotius and Maldonato translated " *Urina deflueba t.* ." It may be interesting in this connection to compare the famous passage of the prism inscription of Sennacherib. Column 6. 19. 20. 21 ; " Itarraku libbušun šinatišun uçarrapu kirib narkabatišunu umašširu niçušun. " *their heart failed them with their urine they soiled their chariots. They let their excrement fall* " Sanctius thought that the passage in Daniel referred to an " *Emissio seminis* " from fear. (quoted Havernick 184) For the expression of violent emotions of fear see Ezekiel 21. 12 ; : פלכה עיבר בכל לבי נמסו ברכיו וכל־ירך תלך־מים הנה־באה ונהיתה׃ Psalm 69. 24 ; : הישעה עיניהם ומותניהם תמיד׃ Compare also Deut. 33 11 ; : מתנים קמיו ושנאיו מן־יקומון׃ i. e. for the confusion. Isaiah 21. 3 ; : על־כן מלאו מתני חלחלה צירים אחזוני כחבלת יולדה נעויתי משמוע נבהלתי מראות׃ Nahum 2. 11 ; : ונמס לבב ופחד ברכים חיל בכל־מתנים ופני כלם קבצו פארר׃

ote 2. Theodotion omits " דא לדא "---one against the other, but another version has " דמרו דמרן ". (ield--- exaple od. 87.)

Verse 7.---The king called with a loud voice to summon the magicians, the Chaldeans[1] and the Horoscopists. The king spoke and said to the wise men of Babylon that any man who could read this writing and show its interpretation[a] should wear[2] scarlet[3b] and a chain[4] of gold upon his neck, and should rule as third[c] in rank in the kingdom.[5]

Note 1. It is a common error to consider the name Chaldean as synonymous with "Babylonian or even "old Babylonian." The Chaldaeans were clearly in ancient times a people quite distinct from the inhabitants of Babylonia. Their exact origin is extremely uncertain. It may be conjectured with Winckler (Uag. 48) judging from the Semitic character of their proper names that they were a Semitic people, or with Jensen (see Lehmann---Šamaššumukîn, p. 173) that they were "Semitised Sumerians" i. e. a non-Semitic race which by contact with Semitic influences had lost its original character. It seems probable that they came first from the South at a very early date, along the coast of the Persian Gulf. (For the old opinion of Gesenius, Heeren, Niebuhr etc. that the Kaldi came from Armenia and Kurdistan and conquered Babylon shortly before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, see Tiele---Gesch. 65.) Having settled in the region about Ur (Lehmann op. cit. 82--- [illegible]), they began a series of encroachments on the Babylonians

proper, which after many centuries ended in the Chaldaean supremacy under Nabopolassar and his successors. (That Nabopolassar was a Chaldaean, see Tiele op. cit. 421 : Winckler op. cit. 60 ff. and for the history of the rise and development of the Chaldaean power compare Tiele 65. 207. 211. 286. 287. 362. 422. Winckler op. cit. pp. 47---64. Delattre, Les Chaldéens Paris 1877.)

The peculiar use of the name Chaldaean in this passage of Daniel to denote a class of magician or priest is, as Meinhold remarked (B. z. Erkl. d. B. Dan. 28) late. The term Χαλδαῖοι is used also by Herodotus to denote the priestly class of Babylonia, from whom he got his historical information. This transfer of the name of the people to a special class is probably to be explained in the following manner.

The sudden rise of the Babylonian Empire under the Chaldaean rule of Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, tended to produce so thorough an amalgamation of the Chaldaeans and Babylonians, who had hitherto been racially distinct, that in the course of time no perceptible differences existed between the two peoples. The name "Chaldaean" however lived on in the restricted sense already mentioned and for the following reason. The "Kaldi" had seized and held from most ancient times the region of old Sumer, the centre of the non-Semitic culture. (Lehmann op. cit. 173.) It

seems extremely probable that they were so strongly influenced by this superior civilization, as to eventually adopt it as their own, and, as they were the dominant race, the priestly caste of that region became a Chaldaean institution. It is reasonable to conjecture that Southern Babylonia, the home of the old culture supplied Babylon and other important cities with priests, who from their descent were correctly called Chaldaeans. A name which in later times, owing to the amalgamation of the Chaldaeans and Babylonians, when the term had lost its national force, became a distinctive appellation of the priestly caste. (Compare in this connection Gutbrod, ZA. 6 p. 29 ff., Lehmann 173, Delattre, Chaldeens, pp. 29-34, also, Revue des Questions Hist. 1977 1. 562-567.) It may not be out of place to remark here that Lagarde, thinking of "נלוה אל עליהם" Isaiah 14. 1. and "נלוים אל יהוה" Isaiah 56. 3, believed that the original Levites or Jewish religious caste were those Egyptians who had gone with the Israelites in their exodus from Egypt. That Egyptians went out with Moses is probable from Exodus 12. 38 (Numbers 11. 4 ?) and that Egyptian influence is traceable in Israel appears evident from the examples cited by Lagarde. He believes that Moses was an Egyptian and treats the account of his birth and exposure (Exodus 2. 1-10.) as a fable similar to the Persian story that Alexander the Great was a son of Darius.

If this theory be true it explains why Moses found his chief support in the Levites, his fellow countrymen. Lagarde goes on to say that if the Levites were Egyptians, this explains why they were able to govern the Israelitish nation i. e. by virtue of their higher culture ; it explains why the Levites do not appear as a regular tribe, and finally it explains what the Egyptian sources relate about the Hebrew exodus. (See Lagarde Symm. 2. 35.) In connection with this theory compare also Or. H. 2. 1880 p. 20-21 and Meyer Gesch. 1. 3776.

The Chaldaean priestly caste were in all probability a hereditary order, as Diodorus Siculus (2. 29) stated. (Compare Lenormant Magie German edition Chap. 6, 563.) According to the same authority (Diodorus) the priests were divided into three classes ; first, those who celebrated sacrifices and performed purifications, secondly, those who recited incartations to keep off evil spirits, and finally those who explained portents and dreams. (Compare Tiele, Gesch. 546). This division is, as Tiele remarks, not contradicted by the inscriptions although it cannot be known with certainty what Assyrian names correspond to each of these classes. The scribes (Tupsarre), whose tutelary deity was Nebo, were also a priestly class from whom all the literature of the times proceeded.

Note 2. This translation seems perfectly clear as already Bertholdt (372, 373) saw. "Der darf den Purpurmantel & den goldenen Halsschmuck tragen." There is no need to supply "have" as does the Authorized Version.

Note 3. The darker purple scarlet was a color held in high esteem in antiquity. Compare Ezekiel 27. 7. 27. Esther 8. 15. Herodotus 3. 20. Xen. Cyr. 1. 3. 2.: 2. 4. 3. : 8. 5. 18 and Curtius 3. 2. 10 : 8. 5. : 13. 13. : 13. 14. Compare also the "purpurati" of the Persian kings who wore the "κιδαρις." Oriental sovereigns sent robes of this color to their vassals (1 Maccabees 10. 20 : 14. 43. 44 :) very much as the popes sent the pallium in the middle ages. (Bertholdt 372 note 10.) Bar Hebraeus relates how the sultan Masud sent a purple robe to a favorite who had done him a service. (Havernick 187)

Note 4. A gold chain seems to have been worn by the higher class Persians. (Xen. Anab. i. 8. 29. 3. 8.) It was given as a sign of special favor. Herodotus 3. 20 : Anab. 1. 2. 27

Note 5. Third in rank i. e. after Nabonidus and Belshazzar whom was in all probability an important factor in the government. (See below.) Probably not one of the Board of Three following chapter 6. 3., although the translation is possible. Compare Kranichfeld 21. 9 : Hitzig. 81 and lately Siegfried---Theol. Lit. Zeit. January 10th, 1891, where he takes exception to Düsterwald's

translation" third in rank." (Recension of Düsterwald---Die Weltreiche & das Gottesreich nach den Weissagungen des Propheten Daniels p. 63---compare also Driver 460.)

Jerome remarked "vel tertius post me, vel unus a tribus principibus quos alibi 'τριστάτας' legimus." LXX. Ἐξουσία τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῆς βασιλείας. Θ. Τρίτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου ἔσεσθε. Compare Jos. Ant. 10 11.3. Syr. ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ.

The old idea was that Daniel was to be second Vizier, the first Vizier being called "second" after the king. (Compare Esther 10. 3.; 1. Sam. 17---Hävernick 180, Lengerke 251, Bertholdt 37-)

Kautzsch, Aramaean Grammar 121, thought that it meant after Nabonidus and the Queen -Mother.

Verse 8.--- Then all the wise men came in, but could not read the writing nor show its interpretation to the king.

Verse 9.--- Then the king Belshazzar was greatly disturbed and his color changed and his lords were confounded.[a)]

Verse 10.--- But the Queen[1)] entered the banquet hall by reason of the exclamations[2)] of the King and his lords and the Queen spoke and said ; O, King, live forever[3)] ; let not thy thoughts terrify thee nor let thy color be changed.

Note 1. The Queen here must mean either the chief wife or the mother of the king. It has been stated however in verses 2 and 3, that the wives of the king were already present, and this fact and the tone of command which the Author makes her assume, seem to show that he considered her not the wife but the mother of Belshazzar. That the Queen-Mother was meant is the opinion of the majority of the older commentators. Compare Lengerke 252, Kranichfeld 221, Havernick 191, Jahn, Archäol. 2. 1. 217. Rosenmüller 1. 2. 89. Hengstenberg 47.318. Ephraim Syr. and Theodoret 2. 1163 etc. Note however that J. D. Michaelis 47 and Bertholdt believe that the wife of the king was meant. Josephus, Ant. 10. 5. 2., thought that it was the king's grandmother. (See below chapter 5. p 89.)

The Queen-Dowager was a powerful and important personage in ancient times. (See 2 Chron. 15. 16. 1 Kings 15. 13.) As at present, she ruled during the minority of the king and probably always had an advisory voice in the management of the government. In modern Turkey as was the case in ancient Egypt the Queen-Mother is a weighty factor in political affairs. Among the Hebrews the Queen-Dowager ranked after the king but before his wives. (See 2 Kings 24. 15.)

In the Assyrian letters the king's greeting to the Queen-Mother is of a most respectful character. Thus, in the letter

translated by Delitzsch, Ba 1. 187-188 we find, "Abit šarri ana ummi šarri šulmu aši, šulmu ina ummi šarri---word of the king to the Queen-Mother, my greeting, greeting to the Queen-Mother." When the king greets a subject he uses the words "libbaka lu tâbka--make glad thy heart" but in the message to the Queen-Mother such an address would be disrespectful. In spite of the honor accorded by the king to his mother it is interesting to notice that he never calls her "his Lady," ---a fact to which Delizsch has called attention (l. c.) as indicating the evident supremacy of the king. From the tone of the above mentioned letter the king was ready to carry out his mother's behests, but her commands must first have the royal sanction. For other references to the Queen-Dowager compare BA 1. 180. 182.

Note 2. בלבל ---Everything was in confusion, see verse 9 המון, and the queen entered the hall to see what the trouble was.

Hitzig's translation p. 81 is correct. "Aus Anlass der Reden." Compare the Greek version: "κατέναντι τῶν λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ (see Field, Hexapla)

Theodotion omits the words altogether. Vulgate "Pro re quae acciderat regi et optimatibus ejus." Septuagint: τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάλεσε τὴν βασίλισσαν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος.

Note 3. מלכא לעלמין חיי, The regular salutation to the king, as in chapter 2. 4 ; 3. 9 ; 7. 7. 22 ; Neh. 2. 3 ; 1 Kings

1. 31. Common also in Babylonian times; see Delitzch BA 1. 259. "May Nebo and Merodach give long days and everlasting years unto the king of the lands, my lord." Compare also op. cit. 242 and in this connection Kaulen---Assyrien & Babylonien. 262-185.

Verse 11.--- There is a man in thy kingdom in whom is the spirit of the holy gods and in the days of thy father enlightenment and understanding and wisdom like the wisdom of the gods were found in him and the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father appointed him chief of the hierogrammatists, the magicians, the Chaldaeans and the horoscopists---aye, even the king thy father.

Note 1. Compare chapter 2. 48. It is not historically probable that a Jewish prophet could have occupied such a position ; first, because it is difficult to see how a strict Jew could conscientiously hold this post, and secondly, because the magicians, probably being a hereditary order (see above note 1 to verse 7) would have resented an outsider being set over them. (Compare Lenormant Magie. German edition chapter 6, 563.)

Note 2. The repetition of the words "thy father" at the end of the verse is not necessarily an anacoloutnon. (So Kautzsch Aramaean Grammar 163) but simply for emphasis. The great king did it himself. The Vulgate has "Et rex N. pater tuus principem majorum---pater inquam tuus."

Verse 12.---Because an extraordinary power and knowledge and understanding to interpret dreams and to show hidden matters and to solve riddles were found in this Daniel whom the king called Belteshazzar ; so let Daniel be summoned, in order that he may show the interpretation.

Note.--- It does not seem to have been uncommon for kings to change the names of their vassals. Compare 2 Kings 24. 17. where the name of Mattaniah, the uncle of Jeconiah was changed by Nebuchadnezzar to Zedekiah, and 2 Chron. 26. 4. where Necho king of Egypt changed the name of Eliakim, brother of Jehoahaz to Jehoiakim. Jehoiakin son of Jehoiakim was also called Jeconian (1 Chron. 3. 16.) and Coniah (Jer. 22. 24.)

In Assyria we may compare in this connection the case of Tiglath-pileser 3rd (745---727 B. C.) who reigned in Nineveh as Tiglath pileser and in Babylon under the name Pulu,---the biblical Pul. Shalmaneser 4th also (727-722 B. C.) was called in Babylon Ulula'a (Ululaios) but in Assyria Shalmaneser.

Verse 13.--- Then Daniel was brought in before the king and the king spoke and said ; so thou art Daniel of the sons of the exiles of Judah, whom the king my father brought from Judaea.

Note 1. Reflectively and not necessarily a question with the interrogative ה dropped to avoid hiatus. (So Kautzsch op. cit.) If this translation be adopted there is certainly no contradiction between this verse and the statement in chapter 8. 27. that Daniel had already been in the service of Belshazzar. The king does not say "Art thou Daniel ?" as if he had never before heard the name (Lengerke 254) but remarks reflectively "So thou art Daniel." The Author certainly did not intend to represent in this address any latent scorn at Daniel's Jewish origin, according to the strange idea of Calvin (followed by Hävernick 194).

Note 2. The relative pronoun refers to the exiles and not to Daniel directly, as the Vulgate has it. Theodotion correctly " ὃς ἤγαγεν."

Verse 14.--- I have heard concerning thee that the spirit of the gods is in thee and that enlightenment and understanding and extraordinary skill are found in thee.

Verse 15.--- And now the wise men (and) the magicians have been brought in before me, in order that they should read this writing and make known its interpretation to me, but they are not able to show the interpretation of the thing.

Note.--- Simple asyndeton, chapter 1. 20 ; 2. 27. 46. The Syriac version inserts the copula. Havernick, 194 and Bertholdt 380, following Theodotion, supposed that the other classes of magicians had been omitted. Theodotion has " Σοφοὶ, Μάγοι, καὶ γόητες."

Verse 16.--- But I have heard concerning thee that thou art able to make interpretations and to solve riddles. So if thou canst read the writing and make known to me its interpretation, thou shalt wear scarlet and a chain of gold upon thy neck and shalt rule as the third in rank in the kingdom.

Verse 17.--- Then Daniel answered and said before the king ; let thy gifts be[a] to thyself and give thy presents to another ; yet I will read the writing for the king and will make known the interpretation to him.[2)]

Note 1. Daniel's refusal to accept the promised reward is a sign of his religious exclusiveness. He is unwilling to take gifts for using the power which God had given him. As to his final acceptance of the offer, see note to verse 29.

Note 2. The Author gives the Propnet time to examine and read the writing during the speech of the king. Compare the Septuagint " τοῖς Δανιὴλ ἔστη κατέναντι τῆς γραφῆς καὶ ἀνέγνω καὶ ὅτας ἀπεκρίθη etc.

Verse 18.--- O, king," the most high God gave a kingdom and greatness and glory and might unto Nebuchadnezzar thy father.

Note 1. " O, King. " Really "thou O king,"---a nominative absolute as in chapter 2. 29 , 30. 32.

Note 2. Notice the contrast so strongly emphasized in these verses 18--20, between the great Nebuchadnezzar and his insignificant successor. The point is, that if Nebuchadnezzar the great king suffered such punishment for his pride from the Most High, how much more then Belshazzar who has deliberately insulted the God of the Heavens by the profane use of His sacred vessels.

Verse 19.--- And on account of the greatness which he gave him, all peoples, nations and languages were trembling[a] and fearing[b] before him. Whomsoever he would he killed[c] and whomsoever he would he kept alive ; and whomsoever he would he exalted and whomsoever he would he brought low.

Verse 20--- But when his heart was high and his spirit was haughty with pride, he was hurled from the throne of his kingdom and they took his glory from him.

Verse 21.--- And he was cast out[a] from among the children of men and his reason was made like[b] to the beasts and his dwelling was with the herds.[1] They fed him grass like oxen and his body was moist[c] with the dew of the heavens, until he discovered that the Most High God is ruler over the kingdom of men, and whomsoever he will he appoints over it.[2]

Note 1. The usual translation is "wild asses." The Septuagint has "τῶν ἀνάγραν" from the Aramaean [illegible], but it seems preferable to read [illegible] ----herds. (This suggestion was advanced by Prof. Haupt in his lectures, and is mentioned by J. D. Michaelis, Comm. 51, as being the reading of an old codex). The reading "wild asses" makes no sense, as no mortal man could take up his abode with these swiftest denizens of the desert.

Note 2. For this legend regarding Nebuchadnezzar, see Dan. 4. 28, 34. Eusebius gives an account which bears some slight resemblance to the biblical story. Eusebius took his version from the writings of Abydenus who mentioned Megasthenes as his source. The latter was said to have had the account direct from

the Chaldaeans. According to this version, Nebuchadnezzar prophecies the downfall of Babylon and calls on his enemies the very fate which according to the Book of Daniel he suffered himself. Compare Eusebius Praep. Ev. 9. 41. 7. Ed. Gaisf. and the shorter account of the same in the Chron. libiduo---Schone, 1. 41. 4.---cited Schrader, Jahrb. fur Prot. Theol. 7. 628.---"Wahnsinn Nebuchadnezzar's."

The theory of v. Lengerke, 151 and Hitzig, 57 seems hardly tenable that the account of Abydenus was a later fabrication taken partly from the Prophecies chapters 2-4, partly from the story of the lycanthropy, chapter 4 and chapter 5. The diametrically opposed character of the two accounts appears to preclude such a supposition. In the Bible the curse falls on Nebuchadnezzar, while in the secular version the king invokes it on his enemies. The connection between the two seems to lie in the fact that in both accounts it is a tale about Nebuchadnezzar.

If, as Schrader thought (op. cit. 7. 628.), the two accounts are independent developments of one and the same Babylonian legend, one version has been sadly distorted. It is perhaps more natural to regard the account in the Book of Daniel as the later Jewish perversion of the tale.

Verse 22.--- but thou Belshazzar his son hast not humbled thine heart although thou knewest all this.

Verse 23.--- But thou hast exalted thyself against the Lord of the Heavens and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee ; and thou and thy lords, thy wives and concubines were drinking wine from them, and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor notice[1] ; but the God in whose hand are thy life and all thy paths,[2] him thou hast not honored.

Note 1. Compare Psalm 135. 16. 17. "They have mouths but they speak not, eyes have they but they see not. They have ears but they hear not, neither is there any breath in their mouths."--- also Psalm 115. 4. ff.

Note 2. Compare Jeremiah Targum 10. 23. לא לגברא אורחתה : Hebrew לא לגברא אורחתה

Verse 24.--- Then the hand was sent forth from him and this writing was engraved.

Note.--- Septuagint "τότε" and Vulgate "idcirco" are not quite exact. It is "then" not "therefore". Compare Syriac "[illegible]

Verse 25.--- And this is the writing which was written ; there have been counted a mina, a shekel and two half-minas.

Note 1. The mina alludes to Nebuchadnezzar the greatest Babylonian monarch and the real founder of the Empire. The shekel, one-sixtieth as valuable points to the insignificant Belshazzar, while the two half-minas refer to the double nation the Medes and Persians, who shall divide between them the power of Nebuchadnezzar. For this translation and interpretation see above p. 7 and below chapter 4 for full discussion.

Both the Greek and Latin translations in the reproduction of the mysterious sentence in verse 25 read only the three words "Mane, Thekel, Peres", omitting one מנא and disregarding both the conjunction ו and the plural form of מנין. This reading may have been due to the influence of verses 26, 27 and 28 where only a single "Mane" and the singular form "Peres" are mentioned with פלג as strictly necessary to the interpretation. The Syriac version alone has kept the received text. ܡܢܐ ܡܢܐ ܬܩܠ ܦܪܣܝܢ

It is interesting to notice that the Septuagint, in disagreement in this point with the version of Theodotion, has transferred the words to verse 5 (see note) and changed their order, reading ; Μανή, Φάρες, Θεκέλ It seems probable that the copyist of the original manuscript, from which this translation was made, under-

stood the real meaning of the words as names of weights, and without seeing their special application to this passage, felt the necessity of a regularly decreasing enumeration. Compare in this connection Heb. 3. # 2.96.n. / (Ganneau.) The Septuagint, however, translates the three words by "ἠριθμημένος, ἐξῃρημένος, ἐζυγασμένος" ---numbered, taken away, weighed.

Verse 26.--- This is the interpretation of the thing ; Mina: ---God has counted thy kingdom and finished it.

Note. Has cut short. Compare Ephraim Syriacus. "
ܡܢܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܟ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܘܫܠܡܗ ܠܡܠܟܘܬ ܡܕܝܐ ܘܦܪܣܝܐ ܘܫܠܡ ܙܒܢܗ ܕܟܠܗ ܒܝܘܡܝܟ :
God has counted the years of the empires, which were given to the Babylonians and the time of all of them is up in thy days. In Hebrew מָנָה occurs in the sense of "allot, decide." Compare Isaiah 65. 12. ואתכם לחרב and Psalm 147. 4. : מונה מספר לכוכבים

Verse 27.--- "Shekel"; thou hast been weighed in the balances and found wanting.

Verse 28.--- Half-mina ; thy kingdom has been divided and given to the Medes and Persians.

Note 1. Annals 2. 2. also Cyrus Cylinder 13. See appendix. The revolt of the Median troops against Astyages is probably recorded in the passage referring to the events of the sixth year of Nabonidus. The passage is mutilated.

Note 2. Compare 5 R. 64. c. I. 29. where Cyrus is referred to as an insignificant vassal of Astyages. "Ardu çaxri" for Anšan see additional notes to chapter 4.

Note.--- The Median Empire, an outline of whose history is given below, p.98 ff fell into the hands of the Persians in about the year 549 B. C. According to the account of the Annals of Nabonidus,[1] the most important document relating to the fall of Babylon, the Median army rebelled against Astyages their King, and delivered him over to Cyrus, King of Anšan (a tributary state).[2] The latter then marched upon and plundered Ecbatana the Median capital, soon getting possession of the entire Empire. Astyages was the son of the great Cyaxares, conqueror of Nineveh. (See below chapter 3. p. 100.) About the ultimate fate of Astyages there are various accounts. According to Herodotus I. 130. Cyrus kept him prisoner, but did not maltreat him. The only author, so far as I know, who asserted that the Median King was killed by Cyrus was Isocrates in his funeral oration on Evagoras King of Salamis. (Oration 9. 38---He asserted that Cyrus killed the father of his mother, which is probably an allusion to Astyages, with regard to whose relationship to Cyrus we may suppose that Isocrates followed Herodotus. See p. 91.) According to Ctesias, Phot. Bib. 56. Cyrus treated Astyages like a father and sent him to a distant province. Some years later being summoned to court, Astyages was left behind in a desert by the Persian servants of Cyrus, who thus thought to do their master a service.

Astyages has survived in the tradition of the East under the

name " Ъ Ъ]ler in Armenian "Aujiahak." Moses of Chorene, Hist. Armen. edition Whiston p. 77 gives the name "Dahak." Lenormant explained the name as meaning "Biting serpent" a translation rightly rejected by Oppert. Weissbach, Achäm. Inschr. ~~Figure~~ 2 Art. p. 20 remarks that such an epithet would be more befitting a chief of the Sioux Indians than a great king ! Weissbach derives the name from the Aryan stem "aršti---lance & yuga, a formation from the well known stem "yuj", several of whose numerous meanings may be understood in this connection ;---compare "be connected with", set in motion. The name may mean "He who wields a lance." Winckler regarded Astyages neither as a Mede nor as a descendant of Cyaxares, but as a Scyth, who with his barbarous hordes had gotten possession of Media. (Uag. 124 ff.) for the fall of the Median power under Astyages compare among others Büdinger---Ausgang des Medischen Reiches, 1880.

Ancient history establishes the closest connection between the Medes and Persians (for the history of the Medes proper see below chapter [illegible], p. 98 ff.) The Greeks frequently applied the common term Medos indifferently to either nation. Thus, the conflicts with Darius and his successors were called either "τὰ Μηδικὰ" or "τὰ Περσικὰ", while the Persian Great King who ruled in Susa was addressed as the King of the Medes. (Compare in this connection Rawlinson , Five Great Monarchies 2. 300. note 1. and Del-

aitre, Medes p. 5.) The Jews also, as is well known, regarded the Medes and Persians as two peoples closely united in law and customs. Compare Daniel 2. 5. 17. 18: 5. 20 : Esther 1. 3. ---reference to the power of Persia and Media ; 1. 14.---Princess of Persia and Media (Compare also 1. 18.)---10. 2. Book of the Chronicles of Media and Persia. Previous to the discovery of the cunei-form inscriptions, no one thought of doubting that the Medes as well as the Persians belonged to the Aryan race. Herodotus 7. 62. remarked "εκαλέοντο πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι" and adds that when "Medea" of Colchis came to them from Athens they changed their names to Medes. It is also especially stated by Strabo 15. 2. 9. that both Medes and Persians used practically the same language. (ἐπὶ γὰρ πλοῦτον ἐμεγάλυνεν παρὰ μικρόν.) Compare Rawlinson l. c. and also Strabo 15. 11. 14. where the same assertion is made by Nearkos one of the companions of Alexander. (See for further examples Weissbach, Achäm. Inschr. ~~Figure~~ 2 Art. p. 21.)

Of late years however serious doubt has been cast on the Aryan origin of the Medes by a number of scholars. Because in the tri-lingual inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings, between the original Persian and the Babylonian translation, a third idiom appears, taking precedence over the Babylonian, certain scholars have believed this to be the language of Media. (Compare Sir

Henry Rawlinson, Jras. 10. 32. & 33.---Oppert Medes p. 2. For a synopsis and discussion of the various opinions on this subject see Delattre op. cit. p. 7 ff. & p. 16.) This dialect, which was given such a prominent place in the royal inscriptions must be, they thought, the idiom of the most important subject people of the Persian Empire, the Babylonian being necessarily excluded. They decided accordingly that it could only be the language of the Medes. Then when an examination of the dialect brought to light that it was neither a Semitic nor Aryan idiom they concluded that the Medes must have been a "Turanian" people. The principle on which such a supposition rested is, as Delattre pointed out (p. 16), that the choice and disposition of language in the Achaemenian texts depended on the relative importance of the peoples who made up the Persian Empire.

Although it would certainly be natural that the Persian kings should in their tri-lingual documents give the idiom of the most important subject state the precedence, it still does not necessarily follow that the second language in these inscriptions is that of Media. It cannot be denied, it is true, that the Medes enjoyed a special prominence in the Empire ; the place which they occupied in the inscriptions, next to the Persians, and the fact that Medes are found in most important and responsible positions,

seem to point to such a conclusion. (Compare Herodotus 1. 153. 157. Mazares, a Mede, quelled the revolt of Sardis against Cyrus.--- 1. 162---176. Harpagus, a Mede, carried on the war ; compare also 8. 3. 4. & 3. 61. & Delattre p. 17 note 3.) Part of their powerful influence may have been due to the sacerdotal caste of the Magi who were probably originally of Median origin. (So Delattre p. 17 & 56.) The very fact that the name Mede survived so long, as almost a synonym for Persian, certainly seems to show that the individuality of the older people was extremely prominent throughout a long period of the Persian history. The remark of Delattre p. 18 that these considerations are somewhat weakened by the statement of the Annals, 2. 1---4., that Cyrus plundered Ecbatana the Median capital, like an enemy's city, has no special force. Because the Medes by their superior civilization eventually exercised a strong influence on the Persian people, it does not necessarily follow that Cyrus, the first Persian who came into contact with Median culture, established directly such friendly relations with the conquered people as to abstain from plundering their capital, which had fallen to him by right of war.

The influences of this Median culture, however, probably began to be felt by the rougher Persians very shortly after their subjugation of the former, and those friendly relations between the

two peoples, which lasted with but few breaks until the Median name disappears from history, were in all likelihood early established.

While the strong influence of the Medes on the destinies of the Persian Empire seems an established fact, the actual province of Media was very probably not the most important of the Empire. Media alone was not even a distinct province but according to Herodotus 3. 94. 97. with two neighboring countries formed a single satrapy paying annual tribute. (Delattre p. 17 & note 2.)

It is contrary to the consensus of the ancient authors as shown above to regard the Medes as anything but Aryans and closely akin to the Persians. The statement of Strabo that both Medes and Persians used nearly the same language is confirmed by an examination of the extant Median proper names, nearly all of which are of marked Aryan character. Compare in this connection Rawlinson, Herodotus 3. 444---455 2nd edition and the remarks of Edward Meyer on the list of names of the Median chiefs of Sargon's time given in Delitzsch---Kossaeans p. 48. ---Lop. 2. p. 51. From the nature of these names he concludes quite rightly that the rulers of Media at the end of the eighth century B. C. were of Iranian race. (See also Weissbach opp. cit. p. 1[illegible].)

With regard to the opinion that the Medes were made up of two elements Aryan and "Turanian" I cannot do better than paraphrase

as follows the remarks of Weissbach (op. cit. p. 21 f.) According to him if this theory were to be accepted four possibilities present themselves with regard to the language of the Medes.

A. All Medes spoke Aryan.

B. All Medes spoke an Aryan-Turanian mixed language.

C. All Medes spoke Turanian.

D. The Aryan Medes spoke Aryan, the Turanian spoke Turanian.

In answer to the first two suppositions it may be stated, that the language of the inscriptions of the second sort is clearly neither Aryan nor a mixed idiom, for example, like modern Turkish, while the theory that all Medes spoke "Turanian" is made untenable by the statements, referred to above, of the ancient authors, who evidently regarded the Median language as Aryan. The fact too that the Medes played such an important part in Persian history, and were for such a long time so closely and prominently connected with the latter people, could hardly have been the case had they been a totally distinct "Turanian" race. In the latter instance, while considerable influence might have been exercised by an entirely alien people, such a complete association and identification of interests as appear between the Medes and Persians could hardly be expected. The tie of a common language would be needed

to establish such a close union.

As to the last idea that part of the Medes spoke Aryan and part "Turanian," even if this were so, we would have no right to call the language of the "Turanian" Medes "Median," as this term was applied by custom to an Aryan speech. To do so, would be to start a confusion of names similar to that suggested by Weissbach. (p. 22.) He aserts quite rightly, that to call a "Turanian" language "Median" would be an error like calling the language of the Germans resident in Bohemia "Bohemian," a term which is only applied to the idiom of the Czechs ; the true Bohemians.

In addition to this however, there is no reason for supposing that the language of the Achaemenian inscriptions of the second sort is that of "Turanian" Medes at all. (See for full discussion Weissbach p. 11 ff.)

If, as seems necessary, the Medes must be regarded as entirely Aryans, to what people then are the non-Aryan, non-Semitic Achaemenian inscriptions of the second sort to be ascribed. Here M. Delattre seems to have found the key to the solution of the problem.

He advances the theory, that because according to Oppert (Medes 15) and Sayce (Psba. 3. 2. 463 ff.) the so-called "Median" of the Achaemenian inscriptions has affinity with the Elamitic or Susian

language, the people who used the doubtful idiom of the Persian documents were of Elamitic race. As a number of Persian loan-words (Lenormant Lettres Assyr. t. 1. 18---19. Delattre p. 45) are found in the Achaemenian dialect, he further concluded that the people who spoke it must have been for some time closely connected with Persian influences. (So Delattre p. 44.) The fulfillment of both these conditions he finds in the natives of Anšan, the hereditary state of Cyrus ; i. e. he believes that the second Achaemenian language was the Elamitic dialect of Anšan; (For Anšan and its language compare Weissbach---Die Anzanischen Inschriften, 1891.), a theory which certainly deserves consideration, in that the language of Anšan, as the vernacular of the nucleus of the Persian Empire might rank directly after Persian and before Babylonian.

As our knowledge of the language of old Elam however, does not yet permit a translation of the cunei-form inscriptions in that tongue, it seems impossible at present to make any definite statements concerning Elamitic dialects. Then too, the fact that the Achaemenian second language and the Elamitic are quite distinct although allied languages increases the difficulty. In this connection however, the great difference in time between the Achaemenian inscriptions of the second sort and the ancient documents of Susiana or Elam must not be forgotten. Sayce has found that

the inscriptions of old Elam are to be divided into two groups,---the one written in characters closely allied to the old Babylonian, while the second kind, the inscriptions of Mal-Amir, present a later form which is closely akin to that of the Achaemenian records of the second sort. According to Weissbach (Acham. Inschr. 2 Art. p. 24.) it is possible to demonstrate by a number of examples that this form of the Achaemenian inscriptions, originally derived from the Babylonian characters, is a later development from the form found on the monuments of Mal-Amir. Weissbach refers in this connection to the list of characters given by Sayce in the transactions of the sixth international Oriental Congress.

All that can be asserted at present however, seems to be that the three great languages of the Persian Empire were Persian, the idiom of the second sort and Babylonian. The second language may be a later form of the old Elamitic or Susian, containing a number of Aryan loanwords obtained through long intercourse with Aryan races,---i. e. the Medes and Persians. This is practically the opinion of Weissbach (op. cit. 2) who calls the Achaemenian dialect "New Susian" and remarks that this fact agrees excellently with the order in which we find the three idioms in the documents of the Persian Kings, ---i. e. first, language of Persia ; second, of Susa or Elam & third, Babylonia. As soon as it appears evi-

dent that the Achaemenian inscriptions of the second sort need not necessarily be in the language of the Medes the Aryan race of the latter, in view of the reasons mentioned above, should not be called in question.

In the twenty-eighth verse of the fifth chapter of Daniel the paronomasia on Persian may perhaps indicate that the author was not unaware of the dominant position of that people. The idea that he used a play of words on Persian, because he could not pun on the word Mede (Lengerke) is untenable because a derivative of the stem מדד, to measure, such as מדי would have answered the purpose admirably. (Kranichfeld 227.) With reference to the question of the precedence accorded by the biblical writer to the older people, it is interesting to notice that the earlier references use the term Medes for both nations. Thus in Isaiah 13. 17. in prophecying the doom of Babylon it is stated "behold I will stir up the Medes against them etc." and in Jeremiah 51. 11. referring to the same subject "The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes." Throughout the entire Book of Daniel wherever both nations are mentioned, (see above for references) the Medes have the first place, while in the Book of Esther (see above) Persia is put before Media except in chapter 10. 1. where an allusion is made to the Book of the Chronicles of Media and Persia,---perhaps

an old record.

The explanation of the gradual decadence of the Median name seems to be, that as the Medes in the course of time amalgamated and became practically identical with their Persian kinsmen, the name Persian came to be used in place of Mede. In fact the latter name under the Sassanidae seems to have completely disappeared. (Delattre p. 51.) It was perfectly natural that two closely allied peoples speaking practically the same language and probably intermixing should end by becoming one, and that the name of the dominant race should prevail.

Verse 29.--- Then Belshazzar gave orders to clothe Daniel in scarlet and a chain of gold on his neck and that they should proclaim publicly concerning him that he be third ruler in the kingdom.

Note. It is not clear from the text of this verse whether the Author meant to convey that the promised honors were really conferred on Daniel or not, nor is the question of sufficient importance to merit the long discussion given to it by some commentators. (Compare Havernick 201, Lengerke 241. 265.) It is possible to translate "Belshazzar gave orders and they clothed Daniel etc." which would mean that the reward was conferred immediately, or "Belshazzar gave orders to clothe Daniel" which does not ne-

cessarily imply that the communus were carried out, but that the death of the King may have prevented the fulfillment of the promise. In view of the frequent co-ordination of sentences in Aramaean in cases where the subordinate character of one clause is apparent, the latter translation seems preferable. (See Kautzsch Aramaean Grammar par. 10k.) The idea that the rewards were given directly was held by Jerome who remarked ; "non mirum si B. Audiens tristia solverit praemium quod pollictus est. Aut enim longo post tempore credidit ventura quae dixerit aut dum Dei Prophetam honorat sperat se veniam consecuturum." Compare also Zöckler Daniel. 11.

Verse 30.--- In that same night was Belshazzar king of the Chaldaeans slain.

Verse 31.--- And Darius the Median received the kingdom, being sixty-two years old.

Note. Darius the Median probably never existed. The application of the name here to the conqueror of Babylon may have been due to a confusion with Darius Hystaspes. (See below for full discussion.)

ADDITIONAL LINGUISTIC NOTES.

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VERSE 1. (a) Belshazzar -- Belšaruçur "Bel preserve the King" cf. among others KAT.[2] 433 (Schrader) & Fried. Delitzsch (Baer & Delitzsch Dan. Ezra & Neh. p. x.) Similar names are Marduk-šaruçur Nergal-šar-uçur & Sin-šar-uçur (for the latter of ZA. II. 101.) Previous to the discovery of the name in the cuneiform inscriptions most commentators identified it with "Belteshazzar" - an error which dates from ancient times, as the Greek translators evidently regarded the two names as the same, representing both by the form "Βαλτασαρ."

J. D. Michaelis (quoted Havernick (172) defended the reading בלתשאצר (found Dan. VII. 1, & VIII. 1.) Hitzig regarded this form as evidence that the "שׁ" was an abbreviation of the relative "דשׁ". Among the Jewish Commentators, Sa'adia derived the name from "בלת" to search & √צר - because the King had to search for the vessels in the "צרר".

For various obsolete opinions as to the derivation of the name, cf. Havernick 172 ; V. Lengerke 242, Kranichfeld, 65, etc.

The name of the Persian Commissioner (acc. to some of Zerubbabel) found in Ezra 1, 8, Sheshbazzar, may be a formation like Bel-šar-u-çur. A number of variants occur in the Greek versions, i.e. in the translation of Ezra "Σασσαβάσσαρ"- Σαβασσάρ, Σαναβάσσαρ, Σαναβάσσαρος; in 1st Esdras. Σαναβάσσαρ, Σαρσαβάσσαρ

a

and in Josephus "Ἀβίσσαρις". The ending --"ארי" common to all, (in Σαμσουκήνος the "-ης" is clearly the Greek termination), would seem to indicate that it is a name in -- uçur perhaps a corruption of Šamaš -- šum - uçur - S. protected the name ?

(b) עבד לאדם cf. עשה משמה Eccles. 10, 19: Gen. 21, 8.

(c) "רברבן" really a double plural, i.e. with reduplication and ending - ân. The word is common in the Targums, where it occurs in the forms, "רברבנא", "רברבנא" and "רברבנא" - for examples see Levy - Chald. Wörterbuch. cf. Syriac ܪܒܪܒܢ, ܪܒܪܒܢ etc. Nöldeke Syr. Gr. § 146. For a list of nouns in Syriac forming their plural in - ân cf. op. cit. § 74. Kautzsch Aramean Gr. p. 110 & p. 114 might, as Nöldeke remarked, (Gött. Gel. Anz. 1884 p. 1020) have stated a little more explicitly that the double formations רברבין, רברבין etc., cannot occur in the singular any more than the simple forms רב, רבא can form a plural (with the exception of a few special cases.)

(d) לקבל -- before (√קבל cf. Ar. قَبِلَ - receive) Ass. ina maxru - before, in the presence of, is an exactly equivalent expression. maxâru -- be in front of; go to meet, i.e. as an enemy, to try to get ahead of a rival, hence "maxiru"-rival; and finally-- to hasten cf. mitxariš -- swiftly; see Delitzsch A. S. 124/125 for the development of this word's meanings.

b

VERSE 2. (a) בטעם היין -- "At the command of the wine." Not "when the wine began to taste" as is usually translated, cf. Havernick 174; Kranichfeld 214; Hitzig 79 etc. Both R. Salomo & Ibn Ezra understood this passage correctly, translating "at the bidding of the wine" cf. Havernick 175. The LXX has "Ἐνεγυρίσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου." Theodotion Ἐν τῷ γεύσασθαι τοῦ οἴνου. Vulgate. Jam temulentus & Ephraem Syr. [illegible].

Aram. טְעֵם & Ass. Ṭèmu mean both "understanding" & "command." For the former meaning for טְעֵם cf. Dan. VI. 3 שׂוּם טְעֵם -"consider;" also Dan.3. 12: IV. 14; for the signification "command" cf. Ezra. 4, 8, 9, 1 בְּעַל טְעֵם -- Commander, also Dan. 3, 10, etc.

Assyrian Ṭêmu occurs in the meaning "understanding". I R Smsr. c. II. 18. Amelu ṭêmi - a man of understanding. IV. 57. c. III. 33. ušanna ṭènki - & Asb. c. 8. 6. Ṭênšu ušannin a, he changed his understanding; i.e. smote him with insanity; for this translation and the form "ṭênšu" for Tèmšu see Haupt Wateh ben Hazael Heb. I. p. 219/220.

Ṭêmu means "Command" "demand" IV. 54. n. 1. 2 - "Etlu ina ṭêmišu - the husband with his demand." I R. 46 c III 57. -- Ki ṭem ramânišu - "of his own accord."

(b) בטעם. For the Aramaean and later Hebrew use of ב to devote the accusative (Kautzsch Aram. gram p. 127.), the exactly

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equivalent usage of "ana" = "to, for" in later Assyrian may be compared. For full references, see Bezold Acham. Inschr. p. 49. n. 3.

(c) בעל = the legitimate wife - see ψ. 45. 10 - used in Neh. II. 6 of the Queen. According to Bar'Ali (cf. Payne Smith p. 542 top. under ܫܟܠܬܐ = Venus) the star Venus was called by the Babylonians "ܒܥܠܬ ܫܡܝܐ". בעל was evidently a synonym, therefore, of = bèltu = lady - a name of Iŝtar.

Hesychius also gives the form Δελέβατ = Dilbat, as the Babylonian name of Iŝtar-Venus as the morning star. (Lehmann Šamaššumukîn p. 125.) Dilbat seems to mean "the announcer" of morning or evening - see II. 7, 37, g. b. dil-bat, - Nabû - tell, announce. In II. 48, 51 the star Dilbat is mentioned in the same paragraph with Sin (the moon) and Šamaš (the Sun). For the goddess Iŝtar in her capacity as morning and evening star, see Delitzsch-Mürdter Gesch. p. 29, and for the name of the place Dilbat cf. ישע. 119.

5. (a) נפלו - Vulg. apparuerunt. The q're נפלה is unnecessary. Nor is there any need of reading נפלן - fem. pl. according to an old Codex (118.K.) - (cf. Bertholdt 368. n. 5.) The semitic construction does not require that the verb and subject should always agree. As to the possible survival of a feminine pl. of the Perfect in Hebrew see Peters Heb. III. No. 2. ///. That u & a were

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respectively the masculine and feminine 3d person plural endings of the perfect is quite probable if the existence of a perfect in primitive semitic be granted; more than this, however it is very difficult to assert. (cf. in this connection the remarks of Dr. Cyrus Adler, Heb. III. n.4. 268.) If נפלה be read the subject "אצבען" must be conceived of as an abstract, agreeing with the verb in the fem. singular, as do the broken plurals in Arabic.

(b) נברשתיא - ἅπαξ λεγόμενον - Derivation uncertain. cf. Syr. ܢܒܪܫܬܐ - flame, lantern - (from which the Denominative ܢܒܪܫ illuminate) - Ar. نبراس.

The Jer. Gemara translates it "מנורה" using the Greek word. Ibn Ezra also translates "lamp" cf. Levy Chald. wort.) According to Rashi "נברשתיא" is syn. of "מנורה" used of the great branching candlestick of the Tabernacle cf. Ex. 25, 31 ff. I K. 7, 49 etc. The Targum to Zeph. 1, 12, translates נר by "נברשתא".

In this passage of Dan. V. the Syriac Version has ܢܘܪܐ - Vulg. "contra candelabrum," Theod. "κατέναντι τῆς λάμπαδος Vers. Marc. "Ἐνώπιον τοῦ λαμπαδος." O" - "κατέναντι τοῦ φωτός" and in the Hebrew translation "לפני מנורה".

All authorities seem agreed that the word is of foreign origim. cf. Bickell Ephr. Carm. Nisib. 53 (quoted Ges-Lex.) where a derivation from the sanscrit ni -bhrag - "illuminate" is suggested.

This is as unsatisfactory as the attempt of Bernstein (Lexicon) to derive it from "בהיר" - shine "אשתא" - fire, or that of Sa'adia from אתא - בהי - בהי - light that shines throughly all the year - of Bible Commentary 304.

A Persian derivation (Fränkel Fremdwörter- 96) is hardly admissable because the original Persian word has not yet been found, (cf. Eusa Guidi-*Alcune Osservazione*- p. 3.) That the Arabic from بَرَاشِن belongs to the older language is seen from Nâb. 27, 21: Jâkût. IV. 737, 7.

No satisfactory etymology seems possible at present.

(c) גִּירָא - plaster-lime. (cf. Buxtorff Lexicon. 425, for the Rabbinical Definition "גירא לולא והא אתיר," species terrae denigrantis.) The word is probably cognate with Ass. *qiru* - pitch, mortar. (cf. Haupt Nim. Ep. 137, l. 66. The Deluge, " attabak ana *qîri*" - "I poured out for caulking or pitching." There is probably some connection with the Arabic "قَيْر" - pitch, according to the theory of Prof. Haupt K. A. T.[2] 516, in spite of Jensen's doubt (Kosm. 410) about the meaning of the word, Lagarde Mittheil IV. 364, connects it with Turkish "كل" - fuller's earth. The ideogram which is found in the above passage of the Deluge with the variant "Ki - i - ri" is explained in the syllabary S[6] 94.

(d) כתל - wall. St. Emph. כְּתָלָיָא - Ezra 5, 8. - cf. Kautzsch Ar. Gr. § 54, e. cf. Assyrian, "Kutallu" - side (San. VI. 28: f

I. 44, 55: IV. 52, 20: II. 48, 50.)

(e) כף ידא - The end of the arm - the hand, the fingers and knuckles in distinction to the arm. Θ. "τοὺς ἀρθρωτὰς τῆς χειρός". "Vulg. articulos manus". Sa'adia on v. 24: "הוא מאצבעותיו עד הכף". "כף" may be used of the surface of the hand or foot alike. (cf. Syr. ܟܦܐ - bent hand or foot-) Cf. Syriac I K. 18, 44. כף רגלו Deut 28, 35- כף מלכא.

VERSE 6. (a) זיוהי - זיו = face, complexion- hue:

Theod. & Vulg. both translate by "figure," Not from the Persian (Nöld. Mandaean Grammar XXXI.) but cognate with Assyrian Zimu-face (explained by Sak-ki. surface of the head (V. 31, 14) cf. Jensen Z.K. II. 43, 2: Zb. 108: D.P. 153-. For the interchange of "m" "ז" "ר" cf. Z.A. II. 273; 267. - Haupt.

(b) שנוהי - The Termination has the force of a Dative as already Kranichfeld, 217, saw. It is not the use of the suffix to express the pronoun and preposition (Kautzsch Aram. Gr. § 89. 2. as in v. 9. -- "עלוהי) nor is it reflexive (Leng. 248.) The use of the suffix to express the Dative relation occurs possibly in Assyrian in such a connection as H. T. 80, 18 "ina isinni šaknuš" "at the feast made for him"; probably also in H. T. 80, 14. "Adar šarru màru šo abušu ana ruqetim appa ušalbinušu. A "the King, the Son, before whom his Father makes (them) worship far and wide."

It is difficult to know if the suffix has a real dative force in cases like "amatum ubakki" IV. 30, 7. "I made the word come to thee "ina biti â erubšu" H. T. 93, 21,--" may it not come into the house to him."

H. T. 81, 14, "lummidsu" may I erect to him, etc.

V. 7. פשרה - cf. An. pašaru- loosen, free, IV. R. 56, 23; I. 50 18 - Ar. فسر - Šuttu pašaru = "interpret a dream." cf. H. T. 205; Šunata pašaru. Nim Ep. 6, 44, cf. פֶּשֶׁר - Eccles. VIII. 1. The Hebrew form "פִּתְרוֹן - "interpretation must be a loan word from some dialect where the "ש" was lisped as "ת" - cf. Haupt Bal - 181. N. 2.

(b) "ארגמנא" Ass. Argamannu - ~~Asb~~ AMP. 1, 88; c. III. 68. The darker purple scarlet as opposed to "takiltu" ~~(Aup. 1, 88; c. III. 68,)~~, The lighter purple red; cf. in this connection Zehnpfund Bal, 507, on the different kinds of purple.

(c) "המניכיא" may be the same as "Μανιάκης" to which Polybius II. 31 refers as a Gallic ornament. "Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ χρυσοῦν ψέλλιον ἐ φοροῦσι περὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸν τράχηλον οἱ Γαλάται."

(d) תלתי. The ordinary form of the Aramaean Numeral is תלתי cf. ch. 2, 39. Hitzig. (81) read here "תלתי" in order to connect it with תלתיא, but the form תלתי can be an adjectival formation meaning the third, like the Hebrew שלישי - third part,

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Nu. 15, 6, ; Ezek. 5, 12.

מַלְקָדֵי would then have to be considered as an abnormal St.Emphat of מַלְקָדֵי (Kautzsch op. cit. p. 121.)

V. 9. מַשְׁבִּשִׁין cf. Assyrian Šabasu-rage- Asb. c. IV. 88, c VI 108 Šibsu - rage Aup. II. 106.

V. 11. אִיתַי - "there is." Before suffixes often in the form "איתי"- Kautzsch op. cit. p. 125. Originally a substantive of the stem √אית, Cognate with Hebrew אִישׁ (a biconsonantal noun like בֵּן son - שֵׁם-name) and Assyrian iŠu - √אוש .

The form איתי with final י is a secondary development from the noun, with the addition of י and comes from the original "yaty" (יתי), the construct state of which, יְתַי, was pronounced in Aramaean יִתַי (יִתַי)initial י becoming as always " i ". The form " לָהוּ"- "Being" " τὸ ὄν " is probably not Emphatic State of לָהוּ as Nöldeke thought Syr. Gr. § 199, but a form with a denominal Nisbe, as f. ex. in ܐܝܬܝܐ.

The triradical stem ending in י is found in the Assyrian verb " iŠû " to have, √אוש, (passim). In Assyrian the original short form " iŠu " corresponding to אִישׁ and איתי, mentioned above, occurs for example Nim. Ep. 13, 3--5, 37, etc. Similar bi-consonantal forms are nouns like " Šaptu " lip; daltu door; binu son-- bintu - daughter, Ilu, God etc.

The negative of Syr. ܠܐ is "ܠܐ" contracted from "ܠܐ ܗܘܐ".
A similar contraction is found in well known Arabic "ليس" (the only form of this stem preserved in Arabic) and Assyrian "lâši" - la-x-iši .

(b) מְגַלְּפֵי - Engravers with the "מַגְלֵף" cf. Is. 8, 1.

V. 12. עבדשר & עבדיא . It is simpler to read מְפַשְּׁרֵי and מְפַשְּׁרֵיא Infinitives, following the Vulgate (in agreement with Bertholdt 378, N. 15, Kautzsch § 40 rem. 1) Vulgate, Quia spiritus amplior et interpretatio somnorum et ostensio secretorum et solutio ligatorum inventae sunt in eo." (cf. also Field's Hexapla note to verse 16. Codd. 22, 34 read " λύειν συνδέσμους " and Codd 23, 62, 147. " καὶ δεσμοὺς τοῦ λύειν ").

Baer and Delitzsch however read מְפַשְּׁרֵי and מְפַשְּׁרֵיא (Liber Dan. p. 11) as participles. cf. Theodotion, " ὅτι πνεῦμα πλεῖστον ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ φρόνησις καὶ σύνεσις συγκρίνων ἐνύπνια καὶ ἀνάγγελλα κρατούμενα καὶ λύων συνδεσμούς"

It should be noticed that if מְפַשְּׁרֵי be read, this is the sole instance of the Piel of this stem in B. A. (cf. Kautzsch op. cit. p. 65 rem. 1).

מְפַשְּׁרֵיא --- The orig. meaning of the stem פְּשַׁר to dwell is "to loosen." cf. also Assyrian šarû (Zb. 99. M.), i.e. to cast the bundles from the beasts of burden preparatory to encamping for the

night; hence later "to dwell." cf. Ar. [illegible] loosen and [illegible] and [illegible] place of rest. Derivatives of the Ass. šarù, to loosen, are šurru Tig. I. 62, šurratu Anp. I. 43. "Beginning" and Tišritu the 7th month. The beginning of the second half of the year.

(b) Belteshazzar. The Author of Daniel evidently regarded the first syllable of this word as containing the name of the God Bel. cf. Dan. 4, 5. - בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר

(Meinhold Beitrage zur Erklär d. B. D. 27.)

It is now generally admitted that this name is a corruption of the Assyrian "Balaṭsu - uṣur" "protect his life" cf. Oppert Doc. Jur. p. 282. Schrader A.B.K. 154; K.A.T.(2)429. Frederick Delitzsch Liber Dan. IX.-X.

While it is true that we would rather expect to find " ס " instead of ש in the Biblical בלטשאצר - representing an original "S" sound, (Balaṭsu-uṣur) it is possible that in Babylonian the form of the name may have been, "Balaṭa-šu-uṣur" with ש ". In addition to this it should not be forgotten that the name was probably strongly influenced by the similar sounding Belshazzar. (cf. Del. Ass. Gr. Germ. Ed. p. 171.)

Hoffmann's reading (Z A II. 56) Balaṭ-šar-uṣur - "Balat protect the King" does not seem admissible. He sees in Balaṭ the name of a God (Saturn) and compares "San ballaṭ", which however is evidently a cor-

ruption of "Sin-uballiṭ" "Sin has made him live." The "Βολαδην" of Phot. Bibl. c. 242 quoted by Hoffmannis prob. not "Balaṭ" but "Bêltu". The passage as he gives it is as follows: "Φοίνικες καὶ Σύροι τὸν κύριον Ἥλ καὶ Βηλ καὶ Βολάδην ἐπονομάζουσι." The author may have mistaken "Βολάδην" for the name of a male Divinity.

V. 17. לְהוֹיִן. For the imperfect with ל preformative, cf. Kautzsch Ar. Gr. p. 79.

Although a number of these Imperf. forms with ל Preformative have an optative meaning (for examples see Kautzsch), in some cases they show simply the force of a regular imperfect, (cf. Dan. 2, 28, 29,) so that it cannot be asserted that there is any difference in meaning between 3rd pers. m. - with י preform or the same form with ל preformative.

In Mandaean as in Syriac the regular prefix of the 3rd p. Imprf. is "ן" butsometimes "l". It is highly probable that the "n" form is secondary, being developed from an original l (see Haupt BaI 17), which, it is hardly necessary to remark, occurs in Assyrian in a precative signification. (cf. in this connection Laurie Hebr. II. No. 4, 249, remarks on "An Assyrian Precative in Daniel.") In Mandaean as in Aramaean, the two prefixes appear to have an exactly equal force; so much so that the "l" sometimes occurs by mis-

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take for the unchangeable "n" of the 1st pers. cf. Nöldeke Mandaean Gr. § 166. For examples in Mandaean of the imperfect of the verb הוה "to be" with ל preformative see Nöldeke op. cit. § 196, Imperfect forms in "l" are also found in the Babylonian Talmud; for examples see Luzzato, Gramm. des Idioms des Thalmud Babli. p. 84, (quote Kautzsch op. cit. p. 79.)

V. 19. (a) וַיַּעַרִיץ - √ ערץ to tremble cf. Ps 4, 5. Targ. Gen. 32,25 The same stem is seen in Assyrian "Zû", storm, storm bird. cf. Zimmern p. 94.

(b) דָּחֲלִין יַן לְדָעוֹהִי --"fearing before him" cf. Assyrian "lapan eśriti x x aplaxma. — I reverenced the shrines." Asb. c.x. 78; I. 11, 14, etc.

(c) צָבְיָא -- cf. Assyrian çibû, to wish (I.R. Sarg. Barrel. 42), from which the derivative "Tecbîtu" "a wish;" also Çibûtu = desire. (d) יַהֲוָא, Ptc. Haphel of הָוָה "to live."

The old Commentators considered it as the participle of יָהָה "strike" reading יָהֲוָא. Theodotion translated--"καὶ οὗς ἐβούλετο ἀυτὸς ἔτυπτεν". Vulg. "percutiebat," but it is now generally accepted as being the participle of הָוָה to live, (as early as Bertholdt, p. 362, 19, Hävernick, 196; Leng. 257/8; Hitzig. 83 etc), as indeed the context plainly shows.

For this form יַהֲוָא of the Haphel Ptc. of הָוָה the Syriac

m

Aphel ܐܫܬ (Ptc.) ܡܫܬ may be compared. Such forms are based on the analogy of verbs ܥܥ (cf. Nöldeke Syr. Gr. § 183) cf. Aphel ܐܫܬ and Ptc. ܡܫܬ from ܫܬܬ. ܐܝܬܝܐ is not to be considered therefore as standing for an original ܐܝܝܐ as Kautzsch thought (29); (cf. also in this connection Nöldeke Gött. Gel. Anz. 1884, 1018.)

Such an analogy between " ܐܝܬܝܐ " and the stems mediae geminatae (found in the imperf. and aphel of this verb in Syriac) is easily understood when it is remembered that the primitive form of ܐܝܬ is ܐܝ (ܚَيِّو intransitive) a trace of which is still found in the Arabic حَيَوَانٌ, -animal. Aram. " ܚܝܝܬܐ."

This "ܐܝ" became naturally "ܐܝ", which was itself a form ܥܥ.

Aphel forms like ܐܫܬ Ptc. ܡܫܬ of the verbs ܥܥ are in their turn based on the analogy of verbs ܥ; thus the Aphel. of " ܐܫܬ " is ܐܫܬ Ptc. ܡܫܬ. (For Analogy in the Semitic languages in general; cf. Huizinga - Dissertation "Analogy in the Semitic languages" Baltimore, 1891.)

V.21. (a) ܢܦܪܝܕ, cf. Ass. Ṭaradu. drive away, (passim.) "ina zumrišu liṭrud;" from his body may he drive it forth. IV. 15, 27, b.

V. 21. (b) ܢܬܝܗ. This reading as a Passive (a form Peil cf. ܢܦܪܝܕ) is possible and indicated by the Old Translators. cf. Θ "ἐδόθη". Vulg. positum est. Syr. ܐܬܝܗܒ, Vers. Mass. ܬܢܝܗ (cf. also Leng. 259; Hitzig, 84.)

n

Kautzsch Aram. Gr. p. 81 reads, ܝܫܘ a 3d pl. Pa'il, transferring the ܘ from the following word, ܒܝ. For the use of ܫܘ with ܒܝ cf. Pesh. St. John 5, 18 ܐܝܟ ܕܐܒ and ܒܝ ܫܘܝ. Ps. 28 1: 143.7. In Hebrew ܫܘ is also found cf. Ps. 18, 34.

A corresponding usage is that of the Assyrian "emû kima" be like, Deluge, l. 183, Kima ṭîṭi tème;-IV. 24, 41 b. Guy. § 89 and Zb. 69. Emû is also construed with the adverbial ending, iš cf. ušeme Karmiš. ="I made it like a field."- San. c. 1, 75; imû tilaniš- I. 51, N. 2, 14; Emu salamtaš they werelike corpses-Cyr. Cyl 11; Emû Maxxutiš.— They were as if destroyed,- III. 15, 21, c. I. cf. Jensen Cosm. 336/7. For the meaning "be like" of "Emû" cf. V. 47, 23 = Mašalu (cf. Hebrew-ܡܫܠ).

It seems to me rather doubtful if the stem ܫܘ, ܫܘ, ܫܡ is to be considered with Zimmern (Z.A.V. 85 ff.) a common Semitic possession. He cites the Assyrian form Šu-u-u - Šum-mu-u found V. 28, 87. (cf. —— also Zb 16 E. along with Qu-u-u - Qu-mu-u) as the Piel Infin. of ܫܘ. He then proceeds to deduce the argument that an original ܘ may remain in a few verbs ܫ"ܠ in Assyrian; contrary to Haupt ZAII 259,-86; BAI 293-300.

Although the occurrence of the three signs 𒁹, 𒁺 and 𒁽 indifferently in the form "u-ša-me" mentioned by him, certainly seems to point to a "w" pronenciation , I am still by no means convinced that ܘ is necessarily a radical letter of the stem,

m

and that consequently usame (usawe) is to be considered the Piel of a stem שוה and that Summu - Su-u-u are infinitives of this Piel. It seems perfectly possible to regard these forms as the Shaphel of the stem עמה - Emû,-to be like, with radical "m", The "w" pronunciation in the Shaphel Infinitive"Su-u-u" being understood simply as a secondary "w" development from the original "m", seen in the usual form "Summû."

The stem "שוה" in Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic may be a Shaphel formation from the same stem as Assyr. Summù, i.e. √עמה .
That Emû is not from "עמה", but from an original √הוה. (??) as Amiaud thought (ZAII 205), seems to me untenable.

(c) צבע - צבעא, possibly the same as in Assyr. Çubbu--finger, "the dipping member" (?) cf. — Çebû, to dye, found in the substantive "Çibùtum" - Tinctio, Immersio II. 30, 62 f.

There are three words of this form in Assyrian, i.e. besides the above; "2) Çibùtu," a desire (see above note c. to V. 19) and 3)Çibùtu, a precious thing, II. 67, 63. Compare for these forms Jensen ZKII 26/27.

V. 25. עגא תלא ופרסין

The discovery of Ganneau (see above p. 4), and its development by Nöldeke (p. 5,) have established the fact beyond doubt that עגא, תלא and פרס are to be considered as names of

weights.

It does not seem necessary to regard " מנא מנא " as a repetition of the same word with both Nöldeke and Hoffmann (see above pp. 4/5.) As has already been noticed by Nöldeke in his remark concerning the old idea that all three words were participles (ZAl,414) the form מנא can be regarded as a Passive Part. Peal from מנה, to count, as verbs tertiae ה form their passive participles in this manner; (fa'il) cf. in Biblical Aramaean. מלך pl מלכין passive participle of מלך, and in Syriac. ܡܠܟܐ pl ܡܠܟܝܢ from ܡܠܟ (see Nöldeke Syr. Gr. § 176.) If the first מנא in verse 25 be considered in this way, the verbal form on which the following words depend, the sentence receives more coherence than if it contained the mere names of the weights with the first repeated twice. As will be seen from the subsequent treatment of the subject there would be little point in thus repeating the symbol for Nebuchanezzar.

The second מנא, תקל and פרס (sing of פרסין) are in form regular substantives in the absolute state, of emphatic forms מנא, תקלא and פרסא respectively, as Nöldeke has shown.

As to the form תקלא the vocalisation with "ā" is proved by the Scriptio plena, with א in the Targum תקלא, Ex. 38, 26 (Berliner) also Targ. 1 Sam. 17, 5, and Targ. Hos. 3, 2 (Lagarde.) The simple form of the word occurs in neither Syriac nor Arabic.

Cf. Syr. ܡܠܐ Ar. ملء (cf. Nöld. ZAI.415), but Heb. מְלֵא. It has passed into Greek in the form "μύλος."

פְּלָגִין is, as just remarked, plural of פְּלָגָא Absol. St. פְּלַג a word well known to the later Jews in the form פְּלַג cf. Levy. Chald. Wört.

The stem "פלג" means "break" in the sense of dividing into parts- cf. Isaiah, 58, 7, used of breaking bread; and 2 K. 4, 39, of the division of the fruits.

The original meaning of פְּלַג, seems to betherefore "a piece" or "portion," (cf. Kautzsch Aram. Gr. § 54, N. 39.) It is worthy of notice that only in the word "half Mina" does the meaning "half" occur in Aram., So that in this sense it may be a loan word. (cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 47.) The form "פלא" with ا discovered by Ganneau on the weights, may represent the distinctively Assyrian pronunciation of the word. (cf. in this connection Nöldeke (ZAI 418.))

Concerning the pronunciation of ə & a in Assyro-Babylonian, there seems to be great confusion among scholars. For a discussion of the perplexing literature on this subject cf. Haupt in his paper on the pronunciation of "Tr." in Old Persian, J.H.U.C No.59, p. 118. Contrary to the idea of Delitzsch that original ا in Assyrian as well as in Babylonian later became confounded with ə (Dy 151.) just as in Ethiopic, the truth seems to be that the pronunciation

of the Sibilants in Nineveh was different to that used in Babylon. ש appears to have been pronounced ś in the North and š in the Midlands while just the reverse took place in the case of ס . The first to notice this principal difference between the Assyrian and Babylonian dialects was the great Irish Scholar Hincks, who called attention to it, in a short essay of the year 1857, (quoted Haupt l.c.) The same idea was expressed quite clearly by Oppert, Elements de la Grammaire Assyrienne 1868, p. 11, § 22. For examples of the Babylonian pronunciation of the Sibilants see Haupt l. c. quoting Hincks op. cit.

That ס was pronounced as "š" in the north appears clear from such examples quoted by Hincks l.c. as Ass. Ursalimmu for ירושלם , Asdûdu for אשדוד etc, etc. Such a writing with ש as "שרשלם" would appear simply to indicate the Assyrian pronunciation of the original ס .

The common scriptural spelling פרס is not then necessarily to be considered a later usage, as Halevy thought, (Recherches Bibliques 491) probably following the opinion of Delitzsch that the "S" pronunciation of ש was a later development beginning after the time of Sargon. (See Ag. Germ. Ed. p. 108) Delitzsch seems completely to have ignored the difference between the Babylonian and Assyrian treatment of Sibilants, and denies the change of Assyrian "S" to "š", which later opinion is shared by Hommel (see Jagdinschr. p.

29, 5 and Sem. 509 quoted J.H.C. 59, 118.)

" מנים " although not a dual in form as Ganneau thought(see above) can certainly be understood as having a dual force,--"two half Minas," very much like "תאומים" twins, (see above.)

CHAPTER THIRD

The Historical Value of the Fifth Chapter of Daniel.

Before proceeding to an examination of the mysterious writing, it may be well to investigate whether the Fifth Chapter of the Book of Daniel has any claim to be considered a historical account.

It cannot be denied that if the Fifth Chapter, and indeed the entire Book of Daniel be regarded as pretending to historical authority, the biblical record is open to all manner of attack. The Book of Daniel must not be considered as intended by the Author to be a veracious account of events which took place at the time of the Fall of Babylon, but rather as a political pamphlet of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.

It is now the general opinion of most scholars who study the Old Testament from a critical point of view, that the Book of Daniel cannot have originated, according to the accepted theory, at the time of Cyrus. (See additional note A.) The following are the chief reasons for such a conclusion.

It should be noticed first, that the position of the Book among the Hagiographa instead of among the נביאים would seem to indicate that it must have been introduced after the closing of the

Note 1.--- The explanation originated with the Rabbinical writers that Daniel had the רוח הקדש---"spirit of holiness," but not the "רוח הנבואה" the official inspiration. (Kimchi, Preface to the Psalms ; Maimon, More Nebochim, 2. 41. 119. quoted Bertholdt XIII.) The Rabbinical device was followed and elaborated by a number of the later orthodox commentators. Thus, Delitzsch, Re. 3. 271.--272. Keil Comm. 23, etc. Compare also Kranichfeld 9. Lengerke 565, etc.

Note 2.--- Bleek Einl. 418. In the Septuagint the book is placed directly after Ezekiel, which shows that the translator considered it a prophetic work. Compare in this connection the opinion of Jachiades (quoted Bertholdt l. c.) who attributed to Daniel the highest degree of prophetic inspiration. "קצה הגדולה הנבואה" Compare Rabbi Isaac Abarbanel, in Daniel. f. 17.

Prophetic Canon. The explanation that the Apocalyptic nature of the work did not entitle it to a position among the prophetic books is hardly satisfactory. Some commentators believed that Daniel was not an actual נביא or prophet, in the proper sense, but only a seer (חזה---so Hävernick.) or else that he was a prophet merely by natural gifts, but not by official standing.[1] (So Hengstenberg.) If Daniel however really had seen the visions which are attributed to him by the work bearing his name, he was certainly a great prophet, and, as has been pointed out by Bleek, would have had fully as much right to be ranked as such as Amos, Ezekiel or Zachariah.[2] The natural explanation regarding the position of the Book of Daniel is that the work could not have been in existence at the time of the completion of the second part of the Canon, as otherwise the collectors of the prophetic writings, who in their care did not neglect even the parable of Jonah, would hardly have ignored the record of such a great prophet as Daniel is represented to be.

Secondly, the silence of Jesus Sirach concerning Daniel seems to show that the prophet was unknown to the late writer. Jesus Sirach in his list of celebrated men (see chapter xlv.) makes no mention of Daniel, but passes from Jeremiah to Ezekiel and then to the twelve minor prophets, and Zerubbabel.

If Daniel had been known to Jesus Sirach as a prophet of the

time of the Babylonian exile, we would certainly expect to find his name in this list, probably between Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Again, the only explanation seems to be that the Book of Daniel was not known to Jesus Sirach, who lived from about 200 until 130 B. C. Had so celebrated a prophet as Daniel been known, he could hardly have escaped mention in such a complete list of Israel's leading spirits. (Hengstenberg remarked that Ezra and Mordecai were also left unmentioned, but the case is not parallel. Daniel is represented in the work attributed to him as a great prophet, while Ezra does not appear as anything more than a rather prominent priest and scholar.)

A third argument against an early origin for the book is the fact that the post exilic prophets exhibit no trace of its influence. Had the Book of Daniel been extant and generally known since the time of Cyrus, it would be reasonable to look for some sign of its power among the writings of prophets like Haggai, Zacharian and Malachi. (See Bleek Einl. 419.)

In addition to this, the actual contents of the book itself seem to preclude the supposition of even an approximately contemporary origin for the work. The Book of Daniel differs materially from all other prophetic writings of the Old Testament in the especial details of its prophecies. Other prophets confine

themselves to vague and general predictions, but Daniel gives a detailed account of historical events which may easily be recognized and identified through the thin veil of prophetic mystery thrown lightly around them. If it be supposed that the Book originated at the time of Cyrus the positivenesss with which events of the far future are prophecied is certainly strange. It is highly suggestive that while the Book of Daniel contains an account of a long series of historical events, just those occurrences which are most remote from the assumed standpoint of the writer, are most correctly stated, while the nearer we approach to the Author's supposed time, the more inaccurate does it become.

This has especial application to the last chapters, 10---12, where the combats between the Ptolemaides and Seleucides are so clearly laid before the reader that the visions have more the appearance of history than prophecy. In addition to this correctness of detail, the chronological reckoning by days for future occurrences is very striking. (Compare chapter 5. 11 ; 12. 11. 12.--- quoted Bleek 420.) The Hebrew prophets rarely set definite times for future events and when they did give a date invariably used round numbers. (except in the interpolated passage Isaiah 7. 8.---in this connection see Eichhorn, Gesenius, Hitzig, Dietrich, Cheyne, Reuss,---Delitzzsch commentary on Isaiah, p. 137.)

The prophecies in the Book of Daniel seem to centre on the period of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the Syrian prince was endeavoring to suppress the worship of Jehovah and substitute for it the Greek idolatry. These passages either break off directly with the overthrow of this prince or else add a prophecy of freedom for God's people from all oppressions and the announcement of a Messianic Kingdom and the resurrection of the dead.

A comparison of the Apocalyptic chapters makes it apparent that we have the same prophecies in all, repeated in different forms. The vision of the colossal image in chapter 2, is evidently identical with the vision of the four beasts in chapter 7. In the little horn, chapter 7. 8. 24 ; 8. 9. and the wicked prince described in chapters 9 and 11, who is to work such evil among the saints, we have clearly one and the same person. Moreover, in all the prophecies, a period of trial and tribulation is followed by the triumph of the Lord and his saints.

According to the Book of Daniel four distinct empires are to arise, during which time the sufferings of the saints are to increase until they culminate at the end of the fourth empire under a prince worse than all his predecessors, after which the Kingdom of God is to appear.

As shown above, a careful examination of the Book makes it

apparent that the Author believed that Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son Belshazzar, who was displaced by Darius the Median, and he in turn followed by Cyrus the Persian. It seems evident therefore, that in the mind of the Author the four empires were as follows : First, the Babylonian, represented by Nebuchadnezzar and his immediate successor Belshazzar ; secondly, that of Darius the Median, thirdly, the Persian empire of Cyrus, and fourthly, the empire of Alexander and his successors, culminating at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. (Compare Reuss 595 F.)

It is now generally recognized that chapter 11. 21---45 refers to the evil deeds of Antiochus IV, and his attempts against the Jewish people and the worship of Jehovah. In chapter 12. follows the promise of salvation from the tyrant. In chapter 8. the king, symbolized by the little horn, of whom it is said that he will come from one of the four kingdoms which shall be formed from the Greek empire after the death of its first king, can be none other than Antiochus Epiphanes. In like manner do the references in chapter 9 and chapter 11. 21 plainly allude to this prince. (Compare in this connection Bleek Einl. p. 420 ff.) It would be extremely difficult to reconcile these facts with the theory of a Babylonian authorship for the book, because, setting aside the marvel of such accurate prophecy centuries before the

events referred to, it would be natural to expect that a prophet of the time of the Babylonian captivity would rather direct his attention to the freedom of his people from their servitude in Babylon than from the oppression of a king who ruled centuries later. It would be more natural too, to expect in an early work prophecies of the return of the Jews to Palestine, as in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah 40-46, rather than ~~in~~ the proclamation of an ideal Messianic kingdom, such as we find in the Book of Daniel. (For the lateness of the second part of the Book, compare Bleek Einl. p. 420 ; Strack Re. 7. 410 ; Hoffmann, Antiochus IV. p. 9[illegible] ff ; Driver, Introduction to the Study of Old Testament Literature 461. It has been remarked that the contents of chapter 9, referring to Jerusalem, would remove all further doubt as to the late origin. Compare Derenbourg, Heb. 4. 8. Note 1.) Not only do the Apolyptic portions of the Book seem to preclude the theory of a Babylonian authorship, but the numerous inaccuracies in the narrative sections make it equally difficult to hold such a view.

Such statements as are found for example in the fifth chapter alone, which will be fully discussed below, can hardly date from Babylonian times. No writer living at the Babylonian Court of Cyrus could have asserted, for example, that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar, or have interpolated a heathen ruler

Note 3.---It is interesting to notice that as early as 1757 Goebel (De Belsasaro---quoted Reuss Einl. 602.) asked if such a blunder were consistent with the theory of a contemporary authorship. Compare also Sartorius, Hist. Excid. Babyl. Tübingen 1766 ; Norberg Opp. 3. 22. see Reuss l. c.

between the last King of Babylon and the Persians.[1] These historical inaccuracies are moreover not confined to chapter 8. Among the most important occurring in other narrative sections, should be mentioned ; first, the chronological error in chapter I that Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem as King of Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim, while it is known that the former did not begin to reign in Babylon until the fourth year of the latter, and that the Babylonians in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim had not yet come to Jerusalem. (From Jeremiah 36. 8. 29.---see Bleek p. 427.) Secondly, the statement in chapter 2. 1. that Nebuchadnezzar had his famous dream in the second year of his reign, is in direct contradiction to chapter 1, where it is asserted that Nebuchadnezzar was King when Daniel and his companions were taken into captivity, and that the latter were trained three years at court. The interpretation of the dream must have taken place after this period of three years, and consequently later than the second year of Nebuchadnezzar. (For further discussion of the historical inaccuracies, see Bleek 427 ff.)

An additional evidence that the Book of Daniel must have been written at a considerably later period than the Persian

Note 4.---The theory that the occurrence of Persian loanwords necessarily points to a prae-Maccabaean origin for these sections (Strack re. 7. 412) does not seem tenable. It is quite conceivable that Persian loanwords should have remained until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Note 5.---For the termination -os in Hebrew compare Ges. Thes. 1215.

Note 6.---Compare in this connection Cheyne Encyclopaedia Britanica 4. 803. 807 ; Driver Introduction 470. Derenbourg Heb. 4. 7. ff. It is interesting to notice that the γαλτήρι was a favorite instrument of Antiochus Epiphanes. (So Polybius Athen. 10. 6. . quoted Heb. 4. 10. note 2.)

conquest of Babylon may be found in the presence of both Persian and Greek loanwords. The occurrence of the former shows conclusively that the book must have originated after the conquest of Babylon,[4] while the presence of Greek words appears to preclude the possibility of setting the origin of the work prior to the time of Alexander the Great. The names of the three musical instruments in chapter 3 כנתרין verse 5, 15. (also פסנתרין verse 10.) and סומפניה[5] are undoubtedly loanwords from the Greek. σαμβύκη, ψαλτήριον & συμφωνία

It can hardly be supposed that these three essentially Greek names of musical instruments were current at the court of Nebuchadnezzar. While there was in all likelihood some intercourse even at that time between the Upper Asiatics and the Ionians in Asia Minor, it does not seem probable that the influence was then strong enough to cause the adoption by the Babylonians of Greek musical instruments and even of their Greek names.

In Assyrian literature the first mention of the Ionians occurs in the inscriptions of Sargon (722---705 B. C.) who relates that he conquered the "Yamnâ" who dwelt "in the midst of the sea." Aegaeans in Kusebibs (l. 55.) tells of Sargon's successor Sennacherib that he conquered the fleet of the

Greeks on the Cilician coast. "In eadem Isiorum terrae Cilicum classem navali proelio cum hostium navium Graecorum profligans vicit." Senacherib himself relates that he manned his ships with "Malaxe (alu) Çurrà (alu) Çidunà (mât) Yamnà i. e. with Tyrian, Sidonian and Ionian sailors. (Sanh. Sm. 31.) Neither in the later Assyrian nor in the Babylonian inscriptions does any further allusion to the Greeks occur. Not until the time of Darius Hystaspes two hundred years later do we hear anything more of them. This king speaks frequently of a "mât Yamanu", evidently referring not to Greece proper but to the Greek territory in Asia Minor. Compare in this connection Beh. 5: N. R. 16 and also DY 24f f., Schrader Kat. 31. Sm.) In view of the absolute silence of the Babylonian inscriptions it may be inferred that the Greek influence, later so powerful, had not yet begun to make itself perceptible in the East. With regard to the opinion of Praetorius in his review of Delitzsch' Ha. in. Lep. 1. 150. that perhaps centuries before Assurbanipal a loanword from the non-Semitic languages of anterior Asia may have crept into the idioms of the Assyrians, Semites, Aramaeans and even the non-Semitic Sumerians, it seems to me difficult to come to any definite decision. It appears equally possi-

Note 7.---Both Fränkel and Praetorius hold this opinion. Compare also Lagarde. Ges Abh. 40: 10. Sfg. 55. 5. Delitzsch As. 133. all quoted Haupt Ba 1. 171. Note.

ble to consider the Assyrian "Pilaqqu-axe" either as a loan-word from the Greek "πέλεκυς," according to his suggestion,[7] or to suppose that the word is original in Semitic and crept into the Indo-Germanic languages at a very early date, perhaps even before they differentiated. (So Lehmann Šamaššumukin, p. 147, who believes that the word is of Sumerian origin from "bala (g)") At any rate this word certainly gives no assistance towards determining the period when Greeks and Semites first met.

The object of the author of the Book of Daniel, in both the Apocalyptic and narrative portions of the work, appears to be to comfort his oppressed people, demonstrating in the one case, by means of prophetic visions, the nearness of their salvation, and showing in the narrative sections, by means of carefully arranged tales, the inevitable overthrow of blasphemers against God. The stories of the fiery furnace and the lions' den are both excellent illustrations of the Divine protection of the faithful against the Pagan persecutor, while in the account of the dreaminvpy of Nebuchadnezzar in chapter fourth the Author shows the need and the intention of bringing up the race of the great Babylonian prince, who had destroyed Jerusalem and the Temple, as a warn-

ing to Antiochus Epiphanes to desist in time from his blasphemous opposition to the King of Kings. (Compare Stade Gesch. 2. 326. 327.)

To proceed however more especially to the fifth chapter. As has been mentioned above it must be admitted that this section, which is the biblical record of the Fall of the Babylonian Dynasty, contains certain striking inaccuracies. As will be seen subsequently, however, in spite of the manifest errors of the writer, it is not impossible that the account may have a historical background.

The chief inaccuracies of chapter 5, of which a brief discussion will be necessary are three in number.

A. The last King of Babylon is called Belshazzar (a name occurring only in Daniel and the Apochryphal passage Baruch 1. 11.), And it is clearly stated that he was the son of Nebuchadnezzar.

B. The Queen-Mother is introduced at a feast on the eve of the Fall of Babylon.

C. It is stated that a Median king Darius received the Kingdom (verse 31) after the fall of the native Babylonian house.

A. The first point which should receive attention is the erroneous statement regarding Belshazzar.

Note 8.---Sir Henry Rawlinson Athenaeum March 1854 p. 341: compare also Oppert Zdmg. 8. 598.

Note 9.---The name occurs in the inscriptions as that of probably two other persons. a) IN KB. 2. 60. 58. where the ruler of the city of the Kišeši, one of the tribes conquered by Sargon is called Belšaruçur. b) The Belšaruçur son of Balatu mentioned by Pinches, Independent August 15th, 1889, is probably not as he thinks, the son of Nabonidus, but of an ordinary person,---perhaps some one named after the king's son.

Note 10.---1 R. 69. c. 2. 22. 23. Text KT 43. Translation JRAS 19., Talbot: Oppert EM. 1. 262.

The name Belshazzar previous to the discovery of the inscriptions was held to have been invented by the Author of Daniel. (So v. Lengerke 204 ; Hitzig 75 ; Stähelin Einl. 313. It is now generally admitted however to be identical with the Babylonian form Belšaruçur, which has been discovered in the cuneiform documents[8] as the name of the eldest son of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon.[9]

Among the various allusions to this prince in the cuneiform literature the most important are those in the two inscriptions of Ur, and in the Annals of Nabonidus, the chief document relating to the fall of Babylon. As the reference in the small inscription[10] of Ur is the most complete and consequently the most important, I append a translation and transcription. In this document Nabonidus speaks as follows.

Balaṭu šá ûmè ruqùti	Life for long days
ana širiqti šurqam	give me as a gift,
u šá Bel-šar-uçur	and cause to dwell
màru rêštù	in the heart of B.
çit libbiya	my first born son,
puluxti ilutika rabìti	the offspring of my body,
libbuš šuškinma	reverence for thy great Godhead;
à iršâ	may he ne'er incline

Note 11.---KB 3. part 2. 82. "Belšaruçur marù reštû x x x çit (?) libbiya šuriku umišu à iršа xiçeti." B. my first born x x x the offspring of my body, make long his days, may he not incline to sin." Peiser transcribes in KB. " x x "lu (?) ux bi a--çit (?) libbiya."

Note 12.---Annals c. 2. 5. during the 7th year. C. 2. 10. during the 10th year. cf. 2. 19. 23.

xiṭèti to sin.

lalè balaṭu lìsbi. May he be filled with the fulness of life.

In the second column of the great inscription of Ur, the king, after describing the restoration of the Temple of Ebarra and offering a devout petition to Šamaš, the sun-god that the sacred shrines may now remain uninjured, closes with a prayer for his own well being, and in almost the same words as the above, with a supplication for B. his first born.

Why this especial mention of the king's son occurs in these inscriptions of Ur is doubtful. It may be conjectured with Tiele (Gesch. 463) that Belšarucur was governor of this province in Southern Babylonia, and had Ur as his capital, or it is possible that Nabonidus attached some special religious importance to the cult of the moon-god local in this place. The petition here that the king's son might not incline to sin, may perhaps indicate that the prince had in some way offended the prejudices of the religious classes, who, as is well known, supervised the preparation of the inscriptions.

From the allusion to the prince in the Annals of Nabonidus, it appears that the son of the king was a number of

Note 13.---Compare Nbpl. c. 2. 69. KB. 3. part 2. 4. mention of Nebuchadnezzar, and 3. 6. ff. of Nabušulišir his brother. In later documents mention is made of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, as co-regent and king of Babylon during his father's lifetime. (Compare Tiele Gesch. 483---484.) In the inscription of Antiochus Soter 5. R. 66. 25. KB. 3. part 2. 138. 25. mention is made of Seleucus his son and vice-king. Delattre, 1883, "Salomon, Asb. et Baltasar" p. 5, compares in connection with Belsaruçur the cases of Solomon and Sardanapalus, both of whom exercised the vice regal dignity during the life of their respective fathers.

years with the lords and army in Akkad, most probably in the capacity of Commander in Chief, while his father was residing in Tema free from the cares of government. (See below,[136]) It is worthy of notice here, that in the Annals, the name "Belšar-uçur" does not occur, the allusion being merely to the "son of the king," but there can be little doubt that the reference is to the first born.

In addition to these three passages from the historical literature, there are numbers of references to Belšaruçur in the Contract Tablets none of which however throws any further important historical light on his character. (For references to Belšaruçur in the Contract Tablets see additional note 1.)

As Belsarucur is the only king's son mentioned with such prominence in the Babylonian inscriptions,[137] and, as it is especially stated that the lords of the kingdom and the army were with him, (probably under his supervision) in Akkad, it seems highly probable that he was a very important personage. A theory which is strengthened by the fact that his father Nabonidus was more of an archaeologist than a ruler, and far more interested in the discovery of a forgotten site than in

Note.14.---Floigl. Cyrus and Herodot. 24. Andreä Bew. d. Gl. 88 p. 249;Smith Dictionary of the Bible. Meinhold Dissertation 30, note 2, etc.

Note 15.---Marsham Canon Chron. 596. Hoffmann 70 Jahrwochen 44. Hävernick,Neue Kritische Untersuchungen 71. Oehler,Theolog. Lit. Anz. 1842 n. 42. 348. Hupfeld Exercit. Her. Spec. 2. 46. Niebuhr,Geschichte Babyloniens & Assyriens. Wolff Studien & Kritiken 1858,684. Zündel Daniel 33. Keil Daniel 145 knowing of the discovery of the name in the inscriptions,thought that Belsaruçur,son of Nabonidus,must have been named after Belshazzar-Evilmerodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar,(:) and lately Unger Cyaxares & Astyages 28---29. Quatremere Annales de la Phil. Chretienne 1838. (Migne Dictionnaire de la Bible 2. p. 30 n. 1845.) advanced the theory, evidently in support of Jeremiah 27. 7.,that Nabonidus,as a usurper associated with himself Belhazzar son of Evilmerodach and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar,in order to strengthen his position.

The view that Belshazzar and Nabonidus were identical was advanced by Josephus (Antiquities 10. 11. 2.) where he

the affairs of his kingdom. (See below.) Belsarucur therefore, as some critics have argued,[14] may have really been co-regent but, as will be seen subsequently, the Author of the Book of Daniel could not, as they thought, have had this idea in mind in calling him King of Babylon.

Comparing the Belsarucur of the inscriptions with the Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel the following important differences are apparent. The former was the son of the last king of Babylon, but never reigned, except possibly as co-regent, while the latter is distinctly called the last king and the son of Nebuchadnezzar.

There can be little doubt that both of these statements were made by the Author of Daniel in perfect good faith.

A number of commentators[15] have sought to prove that the Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel was not necessarily meant by the Author as the last king of Babylon, but was intended for Evilmerodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar ; a view advanced in support of the statement in verse 2, that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar. Following this theory they considered Belshazzar merely a secondary name. (So Zündel Daniel 26. Niebuhr Gesch. 30. etc.)

It is difficult to understand however how the Author could make Daniel declare to the Babylonian monarch that his

states that Baltasar was called Naboandelus by the Babylonians (compare also Contra Ap. par. 20.), and followed by J. D. Michaelis 46., Bertholdt 344., Bleek 270., Kirms 11. Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Ewald, Gesch 4. 85. note., Herzfeld Gesch. 1. 154. Browne Ordo Saeclorum 171. & Martin Les Civil. Prim. 363.

Scaliger and Calvisius who were followed by Eberard--- Comm. zur offenb. Johannis 45 and Delitzsch RE. – (Belshazzar) identified him with Laborosoarchod the son of Neriglissar. (Labaši-Marduk.)

Note 16.---Zündel, Kranichfeld 25. 28. who believed that Belshazzar was Evilmerodach, explained this silence regarding the intervening period and the connection of two statements so far apart, by supposing that they were brought together because the latter was a sequence of the former ! Compare, however, in this connection Keil Einl. 404.

kingdom was about to pass to the Medes and Persians unless the prophecy was intended for the last king. There would be little point in such a warning, if it were given a generation before its actual fulfillment.

We may compare in this connection the indifference of Hezekiah to the prophecy of Isaiah of the ultimate deportation to Babylon and degradation there of all the Jewish royal family. In Isaiah 39, verse 8, Hezekiah said : "Good is the word of the Lord which thou hast spoken---for there shall be peace and truth in my days."

In addition to this it is evident, that if the Author of Daniel did not really regard his Belshazzar as the last king of Babylon, but as Evilmerodach, he must have omitted without mention a period of twenty years between the death of the latter and the foreign supremacy ; i. e. that between the two contiguous and closely connected statements of the death of Belshazzar and the accession of Darius the Median, the reigns of several kings were passed over in silence. That a writer should do this knowingly without a word of explanation seems a preposterous supposition.[16] It appears perfectly clear that the biblical Author regarded Belshazzar as the last king of Babylon before the coming of the Medes and Per-

sians.

As remarked above certain critics held the view that because Belšarucur may have been co-regent with his father, the biblical writer knowing this, gave his Belshazzar the title of king. Were this the case however, we would not expect to find the unqualified title "King of Babylon" without any further explanation. Cambyses, son of Cyrus, was undoubtedly co-regent and bore the title king of Babylon during his father's lifetime, but in the contract which dates from his first year it is expressly stated that Cyrus was still king of the lands. (See Ch. II p. 184. Compare Daniel 8. 1. where reference is made to the third year of Belshazzar King of Babylon, without any mention of another over-ruler.) Had the Author of Daniel really believed that Belshazzar was co-regent it is reasonable to suppose that he would in some way have qualified the title "King of Babylon."

Furthermore the statement that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar shows conclusively that the historical knowledge of the Author of Daniel was considerably at fault. (see also Baruch 1. 11.) Certain commentators have endeavored to prove that this statement may be in accordance with the real facts ; i. e. that "son" here is to be translated "de-

scendant" or "grandson." It is perfectly true, as Dr. Pusey has remarked that אב & בן (Aram. בר) are used not only of the actual father and son, but also of the grandfather or grandson, and ancestor or descendant in general. (Compare Pusey Daniel 346---Genesis 29. 5 : 28. 5. 1 Kings 19. 16 : 2 Kings 9. 2. 4. There is no distinctive word either in Hebrew or biblical Aramaean for grandfather or grandson. In later Hebrew. Levy gives זקן grandfather.: feminine זקנה ---Neuheb. Wörterb. Compare also Pusey 346.) The way however in which Nebuchadnezzar is referred to in the fifth chapter shows plainly, that the Author could have had no knowledge of the intervening kings, but considered Nebuchadnezzar as the actual father of Belshazzar. In the first place, the narrative of chapter 5 follows directly on the chapters concerning Nebuchadnezzar, and begins with the unqualified assertion that Belshazzar was the son of that monarch, and secondly, the remark of Belshazzar in verse 13. "So thou art Daniel--- whom the king my father brought from Judaea", would be ambiguous if the king were referring to his grandfather or an ancestor. (Compare Bleek comm. on chapter 5. 11. Hitzig Daniel.72) In this case we would expect the repetition of the name Nebuchadnezzar to indicate to which "father" the king was alluding. But even if the words son and father of the

Note.17.---Auberlen thought that Belshazzar was called son of Nebuchadnezzar just as Omri was considered by the Assyrians father of the house of Israel. "Father" however cannot be used of the unrelated predecessors as Pusey (Daniel 346) sought to show. Wherever it is ~~apparently~~ used in this connection, as in the above cited case, it is an error as to the real relationship. The passage in Sargon which Pusey cites in support of his view, believing that Sargon was no relation to the preceding kings, is very doubtful, and probably does not contain the words "šarru abiya---the king my father" . Compare Winckler Sargon 2. Xiii, but also Tiele Gesch. 244 & 255 remark 2.

fifth chapter really were used for grandson and grandfather, there is no proof that Belšaruçur was any relation to Nebuchadnezzar.[17] Nabonidus, his father, was the son of a nobleman Nabubalaṭsuiqbi (K. B. 3. 2.76 (.6) and was probably a leader in the conspiracy against his predecessor Labaši-Marduk. As far as is known he was no relation to any of the preceding kings. Had Nabonidus been descended from Nebuchadnezzar he could hardly have failed to boast of such a connection with the greatest Babylonian monarch, yet in none of his inscriptions does he trace his descent beyond his father.

Some scholars have tried to obviate the difficulty by supposing that Nabonidus, in order to strengthen his dynasty, married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and that in this way Belšaruçur was the great king's grandson, a theory which in the absence of records cannot possibly be proven. (Note that Jarchi, Ibn Ezra, Bertholdt 344, Bleek, Kirms, Hävernick, Unters. 72: Hoffmann 44. Hitzig 72. Schrader, Jahrb. fur Prot. Theologie VII 629, are all agreed that the Author considered Belshazzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar.)

The similarity of name and the facts ; first, that the historical Belšaruçur of the inscriptions was the son of the last king of Babylon, while the Belshazzar of Daniel is rep-

Note 18.---Talbot Rp. 5. 143. doubts the identity of the biblical Belshazzar with the Belšarucur of the inscriptions, supposing that the account in Daniel is told of some other person with this name, which he asserts to be a common one. As the name Belšarucur occurs only twice in the published inscriptions of another than the son of Nabonidus (see above p. 80 n. 9.) until the hypothetical other person be discovered, it is certainly reasonable, in view of the reasons just given, to regard Belšarucur son of Nabonidus and the Belshazzar of Daniel as identical.

resented as being the last king himself and that secondly, it has been established quite lately that Belšarucur, son of Nabonidus, probably met his death at the time of the capture of Babylon, in partial agreement with the biblical account concerning Belshazzar, (See below, p. 104ff.) prove beyond reasonable doubt that the son of Nabonidus is the original of the king in the biblical account.[15]

The first historical inaccuracy of the fifth chapter is therefore the erroneous statement concerning the name and ancestry of the last king of Babylon. It should be remarked that the nature of the Book of Daniel which nowhere pretends to be an accurate history, but is rather a political pamphlet written with a certain object in view, makes it probable that even had the author really known the correct succession, he would not have made use of the names of the rulers, intervening between Nebuchadnezzar and the last king, as it would have materially weakened the force of his story. The whole point of the fifth chapter, as brought out in the mysterious sentence, is a comparison between the great Nebuchadnezzar, the real founder of the Babylonian monarchy, the insignificant last king who had allowed the reins of government to slip from his feeble hands, and the coming stranger

people who should divide between them the empire of Nebuchadnezzar. (See chapter 4.)

B. The second inaccuracy of the Author in the fifth chapter of Daniel which should be noticed at this point, is his introduction of the Queen-Mother i. e. the mother of Nabonidus, into the story. According to verse 10, the queen entered the hall and suggested that the Jewish prophet Daniel be called to interpret the mysterious writing. As mentioned above (see note 1 to verse 10) the Author was evidently referring to the Queen-Dowager, the mother of the last king of Babylon. The mother of Nabonidus however died in his ninth year, (see below appendix 1 Annals c. 1. 13.) just eight years before the occupation of Babylon by Cyrus, so that her presence at a feast held towards the close of the reign of Nabonidus would be clearly impossible. It might be argued, however, that this reference in chapter 5 can refer to the mother of Belšarucur, the wife of Nabonidus, but, as there is little doubt that the author of Daniel regarded Belshazzar (Belšarucur) as actually king and knew nothing of Nabonidus, it seems only possible to assert that he considered the queen, alluded to in this verse as the mother of the reigning monarch without any special reference to history.

C. The third and last historical inaccuracy of the fifth

note 20½ - - -

Xen. Cyrop. 1. 5. 2

Ἡροδότου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ μὲν Ἀστυάγης ἐν τοῖς Μήδοις ἀποδημήσας, ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης, ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους παῖς, τῆς δὲ, Κύρου μητρὸς ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε τῶν Μήδων.

Note 19.---Isaiah 40 ff. compare also the legend of Bel and the dragon, verse 1, and the Greek translation (Septuagint, & Theodotion) of Daniel 11. 1. where Cyrus is substituted for Darius.

Note 20.---Josephus Antiquities 10. 11. 4. followed by Jerome on Daniel 5. 1 : 6. 1. and Polychron on 8. 4. (Josephus stated that Babylon was captured by Darius, who was the son of Astyages and had another name among the Greeks.)

Later Delitzsch RE. 3. Daniel: Gesenius on Isaiah 1.4. Hävernick comm. 205: Hengstenberg 48. 327: Jahn Bibl. Arch. 2. 1. 219: Kranichfeld 44: Lengerke 232: Lenormant Magie 535: J. D. Michaelis 52: Offerhaus, Spicilegium hist. Chron. 265: Rosenmuller 195: Seyffarth, Die Aegyptischen Alterthumer in Nimrud 478. Vaihinger RE. s. v. Darius. Venema, Hist. Ecc-

chapter of Daniel is the assertion in verse 31 that a Median king Darius "received the kingdom" after the end of the native Babylonian dynasty. It is well known that Babylon was captured by Cyrus the Persian, who, some time previously, had obtained possession of Media and its king Astyages. See above note to verse 28, and below p. 129 . It is evident too, from Daniel 1. 21: 10. 1. that the biblical writer was perfectly aware of the existence of Cyrus. From his introduction of a Median Darius directly after the fall of Belshazzar, it must be concluded that the Author of the Book of Daniel believed in the existence of a Median king between the Babylonian and Persian dynasties.

The fact that in no other scriptural passage[19] is mention made of any Median ruler between the last king of Babylon and Cyrus, and the absolute silence of the most authoritative ancient authors regarding such a king have cast serious doubt on the historical accuracy of the Book of Daniel in this particular. Various attempts have been made however to vindicate the historical character of this Darius the Median. The opinion has been very generally advanced[20] that he was identical with the Cyaxares, son of Astyages mentioned in Xenophon's Cyropedeia[20a] and in support of this theory reference

les. 2. 309: Zündel 37. Compare also Browne Ordo Saeclorum p. 175: ,Schulze Cyrus der Grosse. – (Stud. u. Krit. 1853.) ---685: Zöckler 34. With regard to other less important opinions as to Darius the Median, some authorities considered him identical with Astyages. Among the holders of this opinion are Theodoret, Syncellus (cited Bertholdt 844) Marsham, Schütz etc. and lately Unger, Cyaxares and Astyages 26---28. Others sought to show that Darius the Median was a near relative of Astyages. Compare Quatremere, memoires sur Dar. Le Mede & Baltasar 380.381. who considered him Astyages, nephew. Ibèn Ezra (Hitzig 76) thought that he was the brother-in-law of Cyrus. Klèin, Schülze,&Zündel regarded him as a younger brother of Astyages. Ebrard Scheuchzer according to Calvisius, Scaliger, De emend. Temp 579., Petavius and Buddeus (Zöckler 34.) thought him identical with Nabonidus. Conring, Advers . Chron. c. 13., Bouhier dissertation sur Herodote 29., Larcher Hist. d. H. t. 7. 174. regarded him as identical with Neriglissar. Hengst-enberg,328,identified him with Bahman, who according to Persian tradition (Mirchond) dethroned Belshazzar and appointed Cyrus; but compare Lengerke 224 ff. &c. &c.

has been made to the remark of Aeschylus Persae 762---765. (So Hitzig 77. Keil 165.)

Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ
Ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσε
φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ δυμὸν ἐξακοστρόφου
τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος εὐδαιμονῶν ἀνὴρ κ.τ.λ.

The "πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ" was supposed to refer to Astyages, while the "son" of the following line was understood to be the Cyaxares mentioned in the Cyropedeia. As a further proof of identity the age of the Darius of Daniel, Astyages, has been cited as a point of agreement with the account that Cyaxares having no hope of an heir, being too old, made Cyrus his successor. (Cyr. VIII 5. 19.) 21 year. It may be well in this connection to compare the data of Xenophon regarding the last Median kings, with those of Herodotus on the same subject.

It should be noticed first that Herodotus ends the Median dynasty with Astyages, while Xenophon adds a son Cyaxares.

Secondly, according to Herodotus Cyrus was only related to the Median house by being the son of Astyages daughter. Xenophon adds to this that Cyrus married the daughter of Cyaxares (his first cousin) and inherited with

Note 21-- Havernick 206. Keil 165. Kranichfeld 44. Lengerke 220. Andrea Bew. d. Gl. 25. 57. Meinhold dissertation 33-34

with her the Median empire.

Thirdly, according to the account of Herodotus, Cyrus took part in the rebellion instigated by Harpagus and conquered his grand-father Astyages, capturing Media. Herodotus' account of the conquest of Babylon contains no reference to any Median prince. Xenophon relates, however, that Cyrus after quarreling with Cyaxares became reconciled to him and gave him royal honors from the Babylonian campaign (See Keil Comm. 163)

Herodotus as will be seen from the above, had no knowledge of any Median King between Astyages and Cyrus, nor of any special Median occupation of Babylon, and in this repect his account is substantiated by the Cuneiform records. (It should be noticed that neither Berosus nor any other ancient author knows of a Median rule after the fall of Babylon. For Berosus see Chapter 4. p. 125. Compare also Ktesias Pers. 2. 5. Diodorus Siculus 2. 34 &c.) In the annals of Nabonidus and the Cyrus Cylinder, the two cuneiform documents, relating to the fall of Babylon, no mention whatever occurs of any ruler of Media between Astyages and Cyrus (Cf. annals 2. 1-4 and note to verse 28.) nor of any King of Babylon intervening between Nabonidus and Cyrus.

On the contrary it is stated that Cyrus became master of Media by conquering Astyages, and that the troops of the King of Persia, capturing Babylon, took Nabonidus prisoner. Cyrus himself entered the City four months later. In view of these facts it is difficult to see where an intermediate reign can be inserted, either in Media directly after Astyages, or in Babylonia after Nabonidus. It should be mentioned moreover that the Cyaxares of the Cyropedeia is not recorded to have ruled in Babylon, but merely to have received royal quarters in that city(Cyrop. VIII. 5.)

An identification between Darius, the Median and the Cyaxares, ~~the~~ son of Astyages of Xenophon's romance, is open to the serious objection that the existence of this person, contrary to all other accounts, is extremely doubtful. It should be remembered that the narrative of the Cyropedeia resembles the Book of Daniel in that it was not written for a historical, but for a moral purpose. It is enough to quote Cicero who remarked (Ad q. fr. 1. 8.) "Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus est, sed ad effigiem justi imperii." Then too, with respect to the Median succession Xenophon in his more historical work, the Anabasis, expressly states that Astyages succumbed to the

Note 22-- Some commentators who identified Xenophon's Cyaxares with the Median Darius, explained the silence of Herodotus and other writers regarding Cyaxares, by supposing that the latter reigned too short a time, to have given his name to history; but this does not explain the silence of Xenophon himself in the Anabasis about the fabulous Cyaxares!

NOTE 23-- Some commentators in a vain effort to confirm the biblical record deliberately confounded the names of Darius, Cyaxares and Xerxes. Thus Vitringa Obss. Sacr. l. 2. 313; Scaliger op. cit. 587. Hävernick Comm. 210. Unters 78. and Zöckler 34. thought that Astyages was identical with Ahasuerus. Keil 167 thought that Darius and Cyaxares were related in meaning. Hengstenberg 51. & Niebuhr, Kleine Schriften 207, believed in the identity of Cyaxares, Astyages and Ahasuerus v. Leng. 237 thought that Cyaxares and Ahasuerus were indetical. Zündel. 36, Kranichfeld 46. Pusey 159. Andrea op. cit. 58. saw no difficulty in the difference in name! Unger, Cyaxares & Astyages 29, thought Darius was a throne name &c.

victorious arms of Cyrus, so that the Cyropedeia representing the peaceful passage of the Empire of the East from Astyages to Cyaxares, his son, and from the latter to Cyrus, can only be giving some romantic embellishment.[22]

It is probable that this Cyaxares of the Cyropedeia arose from a confusion of facts. The father of Astyages was the famous Cyaxares (see below p. 100) and Xenophon by a confusion of history, must have believed when writing his romance that Astyages preceded Cyaxares and that the latter was the last King of his dynasty (Compare Delattre Medes page 170.) Even had this fabulous Cyaxares existed an identification between him and Darius, the Median, would be impossible, owing to the difference of the names of their respective fathers. The latter is called the son of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) in chapter 9. 1. a name which could never be considered the same as Astyages.[23]

The attempt to identify the Darius of Daniel with the King Darius mentioned in the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius[24] can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. According to this passage it is stated that after Cyrus gave the last King of Babylon the province of Carmania (cui Nabonnedo

Note--24-- Armenian Chronicle 1. pp. 60. 1. quoting from Abydenus' account, which the latter took from Megasthenes. Compare Andreä op. cit. 48., also Zündel 35. note 3.

Note 25-- Suidas said (Edition Gaisf. volume 1. 867.) " Δαρεικὸς ὀνομ. ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς παλαιοτέρου βασιλέως ὠνομάσθησαν " (see also Andrea op. cit. 49.) Harpocration sub. v. Schol. ad. Arist. Eccl. 545--598. (Pusey 159. Hävernick Unters 78.) remarks " ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Δαρεικοὶ ὀνομ. ὡς οἱ πλείους νομίζουσι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου βασιλέω see also Hengstenberg 51. Kranichfeld. 46 &c.

Note 26-- The suggestion of Prideaux Hist. d. Juifs. t. 1. and Vitringa op. cit. 2. 308 . see also Bible Commentary 6. 314 and Andrea op. cit. 49.

Note 27-- Compare Gesenius Thes. 353. ~~and~~ De LagardeAbh. 242. 13. regarded Δαρεικός like Δαρείκης, a byform of Darius. (quoted Za2 50.) For the origin of the coin compare Hultsch Metr. 277 and literature there cited.

Cyrus Babylone capta Carmaniae principatum dedit) Darius rex de regione depulit aliquantulum. (probably Nabonidus compare Zundel 29.)

There is no reason to doubt that this Darius is any other than Darius Hystaspes. (Even Pusey 159/ had to admit that this was possible; compare also Kranichfeld 45. Lengerke 228.) It is possible that Nabonidus, the last King of Babylon, whom Cyrus dethroned in 538 B. C., and according to the record of Berosus and the greek historians (see Tiele Gesch 476 and below chapter 4. p 126) sent to Carmania, may have remained in that province until the time of Darius Hystaspes. (Compare in this connection Lengerke 217) The Persian King, perhaps enraged by some attempt of Nabonidus to rebel, may have expelled him from his province, as the account of Megasthenes seems to state. The idea can hardly be entertained that there is anallusion here to an earlier Darius.

The argument based on the authority of Suidas and Harpocration 25) that the coin darik was called, not after Darius Hystaspes, as many have supposed, but after an older monarch of this name, possibly the Median Darius of Daniel 6)

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is also in view of modern researches extremely doubtful.

The name of the coin Δαρεικός (Hebrew דַּרְכְּמוֹן) has been derived from the name Darius,[27] but it is extremely probable that there is no connection linguistically between the two. Putting aside all other difficulties, the form Δαρεικός, if considered an adjectival development from Δαρεῖος has no analogy. As Hoffmann has pointed out (Za2. 53.) forms like Κεραμεικός, Ἐλευσεινός come from Κεραμεῖς, Ἐλευσεύς, &c. and not from an original -εῖος. The "k" in Δαρεικός he believes therefore, is not of Greek origin. (For the extreme improbability of the derivation of this word from the name Darius, compare his entire article Za2 49-56. As early as Hävernick Unters, 78. note 2. the difficulty of such a supposition was felt.) The derivation, however, which Hoffmann (56) suggests, from "Dar-ik" = דָּרִיק from "Dar" = gate, the royal gate, has been retracted Phoenician Inscriptions. (Gottingen 1889) page 3. (Note that Vitzig Daniel 77 derived the name from the Sanskrit darçana, darçanâna-, mirror, appearance. Lengerke 229 from دراى- دارى Lord, King; the royal coin par excellence.)

Bertin (psba. February 7th. 1887) mentioned that a contract of the 14th year of Nabonidus contains the word

"Dariku" which he believed might be the original of the name of the coin. This Dariku seems to be the name of some agricultural product. (so Tallqvist Spr. d. contr. Nab. 8?. For the form compare Nbk. 43?. 7. Strm. Bt: "Darika" Nbk. 3?7. 10; Idrika? - 5?1 also AV 1919) It appears hardly possible therefore to connect it with the later "Δαρεικος". While the true derivation of the name of the coin has probably not yet been discovered, its connection with the name Darius appears no longer possible. The assertion of Suidas and Harpocration therefore that the coin was not named from Darius Hystaspes but from some older monarch must thus fall to the ground and with it the hope of an identification of Darius the Median with an early King of this name.

If there is no room in history for this Median King of the Book of Daniel and it appears consequently that such a ruler could not have existed, but that Media passed from Astyages and Babylon from Nabonidus to Cyrus, how is it possible to account for this interpolation of a Median rule in the Book of Daniel? The author evidently believed that Baylonia passed into Median hands before it reached Cyrus. The theory is not tenable that Darius the Median was a Median prince to whom Cyrus had given Babylon as a

reward for his services, (So Vignolles, Oevres 2. 510. followed by Lenormant Manual of the Ancient History of the East.) i. e. a sort of satrap or vice-King (Andreä op. cit. 85; Pusey 160.) The author of Daniel represents Darius with full kingly powers. Darius divides the empire into one hundred and twenty satrapies (chapter 6. 1.) He signs a royal decree making it unalterable law; he issues a proclamation to all peoples, nations and languages that dwell in the earth (chapter 6. 25.) and the author dates according to his reign and refers nowhere to any overlord. (chapter 9.1.)

The question may be divided into two heads. First, why does the author of Daniel believe that the Medes held Babylon before the Persians?

Secondly, why does he call his Median King by the familiar name of Darius?

A. In order to answer the first question it seems necessary to give a very brief outline of the Median history according to the record of Herodotus, the Median kingdom was founded by Deyokès. If the chronology of the Greek historian is at all correct Deyokès must have founded the kingdom as Tiele has pointed out, page 408, during the reign of

Sennacherib in Assyria (705-681 B. C.) This whole question however is very uncertain and has little bearing on what follows. (for a historical examination of the foundation of Media see De Lattre Medes page 129 ff.) The son of Deyokes was Phraortes who is really the first historical King of Media. (According to Herodotus he must have reigned 646-625 B. C. See Tiele 408.) Following the account of Herodotus, not content with ruling over the Medes alone Phraortes marched against and subjugated the Persians, Then at the head of the combined forces of Persians and Medes, he set out to conquer Asia, passing from one people to the other. Finally he attacked the Assyrians, at that time isolated by the defection of their allies, and not only suffered defeat, but was killed during the expedition, having ruled twenty-two years. (See De Lattre 167 ff. for full discussion.) His reign coincides with the last twenty-two years of that of Asurbanipal. As Tiele remarks, (408) it is certainly striking that this King never followed the example of his predecessors in attacking Media, the power of Phraortes being in all probability too great to admit of any such attempt. If we accept the chronology of Herodotus, the year of Phraortes' attack on Nineveh (625 B. C.) coincides with the time of

the death of Asurbanipal and the defection of Babylon from the Assyrian rule. In spite of her difficult position however, Assyria seemed to have still possessed sufficient power to cast off the Medes. Phraortes was succeeded by his son Cyaxares who completed his father's work. Under this monarch the Median power reached the summit of its greatness. (See in this connection De Lattre 175. ff.) Following the account of Herodotus(1. 73. 74.) Cyaxares, carefully reorganizing the Median army; dividing the spearmen, archers and cavalry into separate troops, marched with his entire force against Nineveh intending, in vengeance for the defeat ~~for the~~ and death of his father, completely to destroy the city. His first siege owing to the Scythian irruption into his kingdom he was forced to raise, but finally, shaking off the barbarians he besieged Nineveh anew and made an end of the Assyrian power.

According to the account of Berosus, which may be trust-worthy, the Babylonian King whose son Nebuchadnezzar was married to the daughter of the Median chief, helped the Medes in this siege. (see Tiele Gesch. 410.) It should be noticed here that Berosus and the authors dependent upon him did not know of Cyaxares but believed that Nineveh was

conquered by Astyages. According to the account of Abydenus however, the King of Babylon Busalossar (Nabopolassar) having married his son Nabukodrossor to the daughter of the Median chief Aždahak (Armenian form of Astyages; see above note to verse 28) proceeded alone against Nineveh. (for this and further ancient opinions regarding the part of the Babylonians in the fall of Nineveh see De Lattre Les Chaldeens jusqu'a la formation de l'Empire de Nabuchodonossor and Tiele Gesch. 414 and 421)

About the details of the fall of Nineveh there is no record either in Herodotus or in the cuneiform inscriptions, the last Assyrian King of whom we have an inscription being Aśurètililâ-niukinnî . (See Bezold literatur 122.) Herodotos. 1. 106 merely mentioned the capture by the Medes, giving no detailed account, while in the inscriptions there is absolutely no reference to the event. Equally silent are the documents of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar and first independent King of Babylon, where, in view of the statement of Berosus, just mentioned, we might expect to find some allusion to the overthrow of Assyria.

The chief facts however, are none the less clear; Nineveh was destroyed;- so thoroughly that Xenophon when

crossing Asia in 401 with the ten thousand mistook the ruins of the great city for those of Median towns laid waste by the Persians.(Anabasis3. 4. pave ,. 6-12; Delattre Medes 186; Tiele 411. Compare also in this connection Zephaniah 2. 13-15.cited ~~by Delattre~~ 185.) It seems generally recognized and the opinion of most all antiquity (the untrustworthy record of Abydenus excepted) that the Medes played the chief part in the ruin of Assyria, and in this historical fact I believe lies the key to the solution of the problem of Darius the Median.

The interpolation by the author of Daniel of a Median rule in Babylon directly after the fall of the Babylonian house, may possibly depend on a confusion between the story of the fall of Nineveh and the account of the overthrow of Babylon. Nineveh fell at the hand of the Medes. Some authors might differ as to the name of the Median prince who destroyed it, but it seems to have been generally recognized by the ancients that the Medes captured and overthrew the City. Babylon was conquered by Cyrus the Persian, who had but a few years previously subdued these same Medes to his standard. What more natural than that an author writing

at a much later period and having no historical but rather a moral object in view, should confuse the accounts of the fall of the two great cities of the ancient world? The author of Daniel, probably influenced by the story of the fall of Nineveh, as a more vivid fulfillment of the prophecy of the mysterious writing, makes a Median ruler receive Babylon, after the overthrow of the native dynasty, and then mentions later the historical Cyrus. We may suppose that the biblical writer believed that Cyrus succeeded to the Empire of Babylon on the death of the Median ~~Cyrus~~ Darius.

B. The second question remains unanswered, Why did the author of the Book of Daniel give to his fictitious Median King the familiar name of Darius?

As early as the eleventh century of our era the view was advanced by Marianus Scotus, a Benedictine monk, (quoted Bertholdt 844; he was followed in the sixteenth century by Genebrard; See Quatremere 381.) that Darius the Median was Darius Hystaspes, and on examining certain points in the account of Daniel it will appear that this is probably the correct solution of the difficulty. In chapter 9, verse 1, Darius the Median is said to be the son of

Xerxes (Ahasuerus) and it is stated that he established one hundred and twenty satrapies. Darius Hystaspes was the father of Xerxes and according to Herodotus(3.89) established twenty Satrapies. Darius the Median entered into possession of Babylon after the death of Belshazzar, and Darius Hystaspes conquered Babylon from the hands of the rebels. (Herodotus 3. 153-160.) It seems clear from this comparison and in view of the impossibility of reconciling with history the existence of a Median ruler of Babylon, that the name Darius in Daniel is due to a confusion with that of the son of Hystaspes. (Compare Beers Richtige Vereinigung der Regierungsjahre 22. Havernick Commentary 210. Bertholdt Commentary IV. Hengerke 230. Bleek Einl 25. Rösch Theol Stud. & Krit. 1834 part 2. 277.) Just as Xenophon made Cyaxares the son of Astyages, so the writer of Daniel must have made his Darius the son of Xerxes and in addition to this, transplanted in a distorted form certain facts of the reign of Darius Hystaspes to the reign of Darius the Mede. (The idea as stated by Frederick Delitzsch in the Calwer Bible-lexicon 137, 138. That the original of Darius the Median may have been Cyrus' General Ugbaru (Gobryas).

Note--28--A similar confusion of persons is seen in the well known Greek legend concerning the fiery death of Sardanapalus. (Aššurbanipal) Prof. Haupt in his corrections and additions to Askt., ZK2. 282, 284., advanced the explanation that this account arose from a confusion in later tradition between Sardanapalus and his half-brother Šamaššumukin who, having rebelled in Babylon against his brother, perished in the flames when the city was captured by the victorious Assyrian King. This theory was virtually adopted by Lehmann, Šam. page 2, in spite of his polemical remarks.

who captured Babylon (See below.) seems very unsatisfactory)

Darius the Mede seems to have been the product of a mixture of traditions; on the one hand, the capture and destruction of Nineveh by the Medes, sixty-eight years before the fall of Babylon, may have contributed to the historical confusion of the author's mind and influenced him to insert a Median rule in Babylon before the Persians, while on the other hand the fame of the great Darius Hystaspes and of his capture of Babylon from the rebels, may have led to the choice of the name "Darius" for the Median interloper, and induced the Biblical writer to ascribe in a vague way certain events of the life of the former to the reign of the latter.

It seems apparent therefore that the interpolation of Darius the Median must be regarded as the third and perhaps the most glaring inaccuracy of the fifth chapter of the Book of Daniel.

To recapitulate briefly; the assertion that Belshazzar was the last King of Babylon, the introduction of the Queen Dowager at a feast on the eve of the capture of Babylon, and the interpolation of a Median King Darius between the native Babylonian and the Persian dynasties are all contrary to history.

Note 29- The Babylonian proper names in Daniel seem to be for the most part genuine Compare Arioch, Belteshazzar and Abednego which are traceable to a Babylonian original,- see Frederick Delitzsch in the preface to Baer and Delitzsch- Text of Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel. It is interesting to note in this connection the difference between the genuine names in Daniel and the spurious character of those in the undisputably late book of Judith

It may well be asked however if these inaccuracies necessarily show that the whole account of the fifth chapter is invented, and if it is not possible that there may be here an echo of true history which can still be detected.

This question can certainly be answered in the affirmative. It is demonstrated by the cuneiform inscription that at least the name Belshazzar is based on correct tradition,[21] in spite of the errors in which the author fell regarding the person. Although undoubtedly wrong in considering Belshazzar the last King of Babylon, the writer of Daniel may have been influenced in this particular by tradition. Belšaruçur was the son of the last King, who was of an indolent and peace-loving temperament, and, if commander in chief of the army the Prince must have been very actively concerned in the conflict with the invading Persians. As stated above he was very probably a person of great political prominence in the Empire and may have been possessed of even more influence that his father. If this were the case, a legend making the crown Prince the real King is easily explainable.

In at least one point concerning Belshazzar the author of Daniel seems to be approximately correct. The

Note 30--Just when Nabonidus died is not certain. It is stated in the annals that he was taken prisoner in Babylon by the Persian General Gobryas, and according to Berosus (Jos C. ap. 1. 20. See below chapter 4 and Nöldeke, Aufsätze zur altpersischen Gesch.22. Tiele Gesch 476.) was kindly treated by Cyrus and sent to Carmania as Governor of the provincewhere he probably remained until dislodged by Darius Hystaspes (See above page 94 f..) Tiele referring this passage in the Annals to the King, suggested that Nabonidus was really killed and Belšaruçur sent to Carmania in accordance with the account of Berosus'. (?)

Note 31--Compare Tiele Gesch 476. Büdinger, Die neuentdeckten Inschriften uber Cyrus page 14; Evers, Das Empork-ommen der pers.Macht unter Cyrus. & Halevy Melanges 4, all considered that this passage referred to the death of

Biblical Belshazzar was slain on the eve of the capture of the City by the Persians. (Chapter 5. 29.) It is extremely probable that Belšaruçur, the King's son, met his death soon after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus' forces. In the annals of Nabonidus, column 3, is a mutilated passage, line 23., which has long been recognized as the account of the death of some important person. Many, thinking that it referred to the death of Nabonidus,[30] translated it "the King died" others, "the wife of the King died".[31] From an entirely new collation of the inscription, Doctor Hagen has recently explained this passage as a record of the slaying of the King's son; believing that he can recognize the words "mâr šarri," - "son of the King", before the verb; he translates "Gobryas (Cyrus' General, see below) went against + + + and killed the son of the King." (Ba2 247 1891.) If this reading be correct, it is probable that after the capture of Babylon Belshazzar with a remnant of the royal troops made a last despairing resistance which was crushed by Cyrus' General Gobryas, and the patriot Prince thus met his death at the hands of the invader.[32] The annals go on to say that a solemn mourning was instituted probably by order of Cyrus himself.

Nabonidus. Meinhold dissertaion 30. Note 2 referred the allusion to Belshazzar reading "the King died," and considering him King of the City. Winckler Uag 155. gives traces of the sign "dam=aššatu,"- (Also Pinches.) which would give the reading "the wife of the King died."

Note 32--It is interesting to notice that ~~one of~~ the two Babylonian rebels against Darius Hystaspes gave ~~himself~~ themselves out to be Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabonidus. This certainly seems to show that at that time Belšaruçur, the first-born son of the King, was generally known to be dead, as otherwise his name would have served as a more promising catch word for rebellion than that of a younger Prince. According to Beh 1. 16: 3, 13: 4. 2. the names of these two rebellious chiefs were Nadintabel son of Amri, who seems to have been for a short time successful in his rebellion, as there are a few contract dating from the first year of his reign, (Hommel Gesch. 787. note 1.), and Arakh, an Armenian, son of Handikes. Nothing is known of this Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabonidus.

As Haren very fitly remarks however nothing certain can be known about the event chronicled in this passage until a duplicate text be discovered which will supply the missing words, If his interpretation is correct and this is really a record of the death of Belšaruçur , the agreement of both Herodotus and Xenophon, as well as the Book of Daniel that the last King of Babylon was slain at the time of the capture of the City may be a perversion of this account of the death of the King's son. (Compare the account of Herodotus 1. 190. 191. and the Cyropedia 7. 5. 15. and also in this connection Isaiah 14. 19. where the prophet clearly expected the complete overthrow of Babylon and destruction of the last King. (Seechapter 4.)

We may conclude then that in the case of the Book of Daniel the tradition that the author followed in calling the last King Belshazzar, may have arisen from the prominence of the son of Nabonidus during his father's reign, and perhaps especially towards its close, in the government of Babylon.

The statement that Belshazzar was slain about the time of the capture of the City perhaps had its origin therefore in the death of Belšaruçur at the hands of the

Note 33.- In the annals of Nabonidus 3. 8. mention is made of a religious festival (the New Year's feast.) which took place probably about twelve months before the capture of the city. This, Andreä Bew. d. Gl. '88. page 257 etc., believed to be the original of the festival of the Book of Daniel; a very improbable theory.

Persians.

In this connection should be noticed that the Book of Daniel makes mention of a feast which took place on the eve of the capture of Babylon. (Hävernick Commentary 176 following Vorstius Exercit. Acad. 4. identified this final feast of the Book of Daniel with the "Σακαία", which according to Athenaeus (Deipnos. 14. 639.) corresponded to the saturnalia.[33]) Although we have no parallel account of such an event in the inscriptions it seems to be rather a significant coincidence that both Herodotus and Xenophon allude to a festival about this time. According to Herodotus /1. 191. (See below.) Babylon after a siege of some length, was captured, when the attention of the besieged was distracted during a festival, by the device of drawing off the water of the Euphrates and entering the city by way of the river bed. (The allusion in Jeremiah 51. 39. referred to In Rawlinson's Herodotus volume 1. 424. is merely general and cannot be understood as referring to a final festival.

Xenophon also alluding to the capture of Babylon says " ἑορτὴ ἐν τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἐν ᾗ πάντες οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ὅλην τὴν νύκτα πίνουσι καὶ κωμάζουσι " Cyrop. [illegible]

As the inscriptions give no assistance in this case it is not easy to say when or under what circumstances such a festival took place. In view however of the striking agreement of the biblical record with the account of Herodotus, it seems possible to assume that there may be an historical back ground for the story of the feast of Belshazzar. As remarked above, note to verse 3, the detail of the presence of women at a feast is probably a true touch from Babylonian times.

It seems not improbable then that the fifth chapter of Daniel although full of inaccuracies may still contain an echo of true history.

As mentioned above, the entire Book of Daniel must now be regarded as a production of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (ca 175 B.C.) and the appropriateness of the narrative of the fifth chapter to the reign of this King is especially striking. The whole account of this section seems to be a direct allusion to the robbing of the temple vessels by Antiochus Epiphanes, the fate of Belshazzar being presented as a consolation to the Jews that the Seleucid/an monarch must sooner or later be overtaken by the divine punishment. (so Bertholdt, Lengerke, Hitzig, Bleek Einl. 414 etc.)

Note 34.-- It has been argued that the narrative of the fifth chapter is not precisely parallel with the account of the profanation of the vessels by the Syrian monarch; that Antiochus did not use the vessels at a feast but merely took them to relieve his exchequer (So Keil Commentary 145; Andrea op. cit. 248.) and that furthermore the comparatively mild attitude of Belshazzar towards the Jews does not agree with the raging intolerance of Antiochus Epiphanes as described in Maccabees (Andrea 249.) With regard to the first objection there is no proof that the vessels were not actually profaned by Antiochus. Compare Hitzig, Commentary 78. who referred the narrative of the fifth chapter to the ceremonies and feasts held by Antiochus at Daphne, while in the second instance the "Mildness" of Belshazzar towards Daniel might be ascribed to fear of the mysterious portent.

Antiochus Epiphanes after his conquest of Egypt went up to Jerusalem and carried away the gold and silver and sacred vessels of the sanctuary. (1 Macabees 1. 21. Josephus Antiquities 12. 5. 4.) This sacrilege accompanied as it was by a great massacre (1 Macabees 1. 24.) left the Jews in the deepest dejection; "The virgins and young men were made feeble and the beauty of the women was changed." (Verse 26.)

The allusion would be even plainer if we might suppose that Antiochus and his retainers used the sacred vessels, either for private orgies or at sacrificial feasts in honor of the Greek Gods; a supposition which is certainly not improbable, although no mention is made in the Maccabaean record of such a profanation.[34)]

If now it be admitted that the Book of Daniel in general, and the fifth chapter[35) over)] in particular, were written with a special paranetic object in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and that the author in his narrative chapters had no wish to represent actual occurrences of the time of the Babylonian dynasty, but simply, in forming his tales made free use of certain traditions depending, as shown above, on an

The fact that the author makes the Babylonian King deliberately profane the sacred Jewish vessels, certainly shows that he had no idea of representing any mildness towards the jews in the King's mind. In any case, an exact agreement between the warning narrative and the actual facts would be hardly necessary.

Note 35. For the discussion of the unity of the Book of Daniel see additional note 3.

Note--36. See Bleek Einl. 429. The story of Josephus, antiquities 10. 11. 2. differs slightly from the Biblical account in this respect, as the events are not all crowded into one night. The King in search of an interpreter issued a proclamation through all the land, before his "Grand-mother" advised him to call Daniel. After Daniel's interpretation, the fulfillment of the prophecy did not take place directly but "after a little while"

echo of true history, all difficulties attendant on the theory that the narratives of Daniel must be considered as historically valuable, will disappear. Such arguments, for example, as are brought forward by some critics against chapter five, that the account is not only generally inaccurate but also that all the events mentioned there could not have happened in one night,[36] will not have any especial force, if the record be viewed in the proper light. The author probably never intended that these tales should be used to enrich the history of the Babylonian and Medo-Persian period. If they be regarded ~~in the~~ from a correct standpoint proper light the narrative of the Book of Daniel should serve to present an impressive picture of Jewish affairs in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and should be an excellent illustration of that faith in God, which in all their oppressions and troubles, the chosen people never forgot.

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CHAPTER III.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE I.

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The most important references to Belšaruçur in the published contracts are the following:-

(a) Str. Nbd. 184 where mention is made of "Nabu-ukin-axi sipiri šo Belšaruçur mar šarri--" N. the Scribe of Belš. the son of the King. Dated 25 Nisan are 5th year of Nab. translation R.P. III. 124. ff.

(b) BOR II 17/18. Boscawen.- Revillout Obligations en droits Egyptiens p. 895.-- Strm. Congres de Laide. No.80-- Tablet S. + 329. 79, 11, 17, mention of the same person & Nabu--çabit- qate the Major domo of Belšaruçur the son of the King. Dated 7th year of Nab. Boscawen concludes from the mention of these especial servants of the King's son so early in his Father's reign that the Prince must have been born before the accession of Nabonidus. A conclusion hardly warranted by the premises as the exact age when a King's son had his separate household is not known.

It should be remarked however, that if Belšar, were in command of the army in the 17th and last year of his father's

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reign. The Prince was probably older than 17, Compare also in this connection the statement recorded below that in the 1st year of Nab. a plot of ground was sold to a servant of Belšar. for his Lord. (p. 115)

(c) Str. Nbd. 581, Translation R.P. III. 124 & 125 mention of Nabu-cabit-qate the steward of Bels. the "mar šarri." Dated 11th year of Nabonidus.

(d) Str. Nbd. 688. Transl. R.P. III. 124--allusion to same official, dated 12th year.

(e) Str. Nbd. 662. Translation Bal. 527--No.25. Zehnpfund-- A list of garments. "5 çubat eširti ana xubà šakurummate šarri Belšarucur"-- 5 temple vestments unto the royal steward of Belšar. Dated 12th year. This is the only allusion to the King's son known to me, where he is not especially called "mar šarri." The omission of the title in this case was probably because the mention of the royal steward shows who is meant.

(f) BOR. II. 17, N.1.-- Boscawen Record of an offering made by the son of the King in Ebarra. Dated 7th year.

Nabu-çabit-qate- (Nebo seizes the hands) was the name of the Major domo of Neriglissar, (Nbk. 34 2/6, 1, 5--See Strm. A.V.)and of his son Labas-i-Marduk(Ngl. 2 10/6, 2, (A.V.)) (See BOR. II. 44, 48.) The steward of Belsar. may be the

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same person.

To the contracts just mentioned should be added the two references to Belšar. treated of by Pinches Independ. Aug 15, 1889.

(a) Sale of a plot of ground by Marduk-eriba to Bel-Rešua servant of Belšarucur son of the King, dated 26, Veadar, 1st year of Nabonidus.

(b) The record on a small tablet from Sippar that Esaggila-ramat daughter of the King,(Nab.) paid her tithe to Šamaš through Belšar(ucur.) Dated 5th of Ab. 17th year of Nabonidus. This payment took place in the month before Sippar was captured by the Persians. Pinches op. cit., believing that it had been already captured by the forces of Cyrus, tries to show that the city must have been retaken by the Babylonians. Sippar was not taken by the Persians until the 14 of Tammuz of Nabonidus'17th year. (See p. 132)

The attemptof Boscawen T.S.B.A. VI. 27-28 followed by Andreä Bew. d. gl. '88, 250 Cheyne Encycl. Britt. VI. 803 etc. to identify Mardukšarucur whose fifth year he thought he had discovered on a tablet, with Belšarucur is unsuccessful. The contract he refers to belongs to the time of Neriglissar cf. Tiele gesch. 476. Strm. Congres de Leide n. 115, p. 586.

ADDITIONAL NOTE 2.

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It was generally recognized by the Ancients, that the Book of Daniel was an authentic production. The references in the New Testament; i.e. Matt. 24, 15; Mark 13, 14; referring to Dan. 9, 27; and 12, 11; (cf. Josephus Ant. X. 10, 4; 11, 7; XII. 7, 6;) and the Talmud (Baba Batra f. 13, 14; ed. Venet. 1548.) ascribe the Book especially to Daniel. In Ant. X. 11, 8, 4; Josephus relates the oft-cited fable that the Prophecies of Daniel were shown to Alex. the Great on his entry into Jerusalem. Jerome refers to the work as a "Πολυιστορία of all the world. (Epist. ad. Paulinum.)

The first known writer who doubted the authenticity of the Book of Daniel was the Neo-Platonist, Porphyrius, (A.D. 304) who in his great work of fifteen books directed against the Christians (Λογοὶ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν) devoted the whole twelfth-book to an attack on Daniel, which he declared to have been originally in Greek, the work of a Jew of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (Prooemium Hieron. opp. v. p. 267.) The works of Porphyrius were all collected and burnt by orders of the Emperors Constantine and Theodosius, so that his views have descended to posterity only through the works of Jerome (opp. cit.) who attempted to refute his arguments. According to the statement of Jerome, he was also answered by Metho-

dius, Apollonaris of Laodicea and Eusebius of Caesarea.

According to Origen VII. 7 & 5, Mosh. the pagan Celsus is said to have expressed a doubt concerning the truth of the occurrences described in Daniel.

The following Commentators regarded the Book of Daniel either as a whole or in part as belonging to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Collins Lehrgebäude ~~des~~ vom Buchstäblichen Verstande der Weissagungen untersucht, 1726, London.
Semmler, Untersuchungen des Canons III. 505.
Corrodi, Versuche über verschiedene in Theologie & Bibelkritik einschlagende gegenstände, Berlin 1783. Versuch einer Beleuchtung der geschichte des jüdischen und Christlichen Bibelkanons Vol. I. Halle 1792, pp. 75, 95.

Eichhorn--Einl in das A.T. 3 & 4. Ausgabe. Bertholdt Daniel. The commentaries of Kirms 1828: Redepenning 1833, [illegible] Leng 1835. Ewald & Hitzig.

Bunsen, Gott in der Geschichte p. 302; 514; 540, 1 Teil. 1857. Lücke, p. 41.

Siegfried-: Bleek, Einleitung, Riehm Einl. II. 292, Strack Hndb. der Theol. Wiss. 1, (1885) 172, (Herzog² VII. 419.)
V. Orelli O.T. Proph. 455, Schlottmann Compendium der A.T.-lichen Theol. 1889 & '87. Reuss. ~~Einl.~~ Geschichte des A.T. 1890, p. 592, ff.

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C.A.Briggs. Mess. Proph. 411 f. Driver 467.

Among the defenders of the authenticity of the book should be mentioned:

Lüderwald--Die 6 ersten Capitel Dan. n. historischen Gründen geprüft and berichtigt, 1787. Jahn 1810; Dereser. 1810 (answering Bertholdt). Pareau--Institutio Interpret. V. 1, p. 424--425. Royaards 1821. Sack, Ackermann 1829. Hengstenberg 1831; Hävernick (answered by Droysen Geschichte d. Hellenen, V. II. p. 346.) Zündel 1861; Hilgenfeld 1863; Kranichfeld 1868. Keil, Delitzsch, Caspari, Pusey, Andreä Beweis des Glaubens, '88, p. 241, ff. Düsterwald, Die weltreiche and das Gottesreich nach den Weissagungen des Propheten Daniels 1890, (reviewed by Siegfried. Theol. Lit. Zeitung 10 Jan. 1891.) etc, etc.

ADDITIONAL NOTE 3.

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THE BILINGUAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

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The book of Daniel must be regarded as a unit. Some critics however have believed in a separate origin for the first six chapters. Thus Sack Herbst and Davidson attributed the second part of the work to Daniel, but regarded the first six Chapters as an introduction to the visions, written by a later Jew.

Eichhorn (3 & 4 Ed.) believed that Ch. II 4- VI. were written by one author, and Ch. 7--12 with I.-II3 by another.

The fact that from Ch. II 4, through Ch. VII. the book is written in Aramaean has influenced some scholars to believe that the Aramaean portions have a separate origin from the other parts of the work. Zockler, for example, (p.18) following Kranichfeld considered the Aramaean sections as extracts from a contemporary journal in the vernacular, while Driver Introd. 482/3, although seeing the strong objections to such a view with some caution remarks, that the theory of a separate origin for these parts deserves consideration. Strack. in Zoeckler's Hand-b. I. 165 believes that the Aramaean portions were in existence from the time of Alexander. Cf. Meinhold Diss. 38, and Beiträge L. 32, 70, 1888, Lenormant Magie. Germ.

Ed. 527, 565, and Lagarde Mittheil, II 351, (1891) commenting on the opinion of J.D. Michaelis-- Orientalische and Exegetische Bibliographie, 2, 141. that the book of Daniel consisted of a number of parts of separate origin; A view held by Bertholdt 49, ff. and Augusti, but now generally rejected. See Bleek 415, Reuss. 599. Lagarde says in this connection that the bilingual character of the work is an evidence that it is a "Bündel von Flugblättern" (cf. also op. cit. 364, 365,)

The view that the book of Daniel is not the production of one author, is hardly consistent however with the uniform character of the entire work.

It must be remembered that the Aramaean Chapters are not wholly narrative, Ch. 2, being devoted to the interpretation of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar and containing substantially the same prophecies as we find in the second part. Chapter 7 is certainly as apocalyptic in character as any of the following sections. Moreover, the natural division of the book is undoubtedly after Chapter 6, so that if the difference of language were the sign of a separate origin for these sections we would expect Ch. 7, the beginning of the distinctly apocalyptic portion, to be in Hebrew, which however is not the case.

The Aramaean 7th Chapter belongs as completely to the

Mr. Bezold the Editor of ZA calls attention to the fact in a footnote that the Author is referring to the bricks of Tello of which there are some examples in the Museums of Paris & Berlin. The inscription was ~~published~~ treated by de Vogüé, & Schrader as well as in the Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum. See the Literature on the subject quoted Schrader K.B. III. 2. 142. n. 1.

following Hebrew apocalyptic parts as the Hebrew first chapter is essentially part of the following Aramaean narrative sections. (In this connection see above p. 72 and Driver, Introd. 482.)

The complete interdependence of all the chapters is such that the entire book must be regarded as the work of a single Author.

Various attempts have been made to explain the sudden change of language in II.4, Some commentators thought that Aramaean was the vernacular of Babylonia and was consequently employed as the language of the parts relating to that country. (So Kliefoth, 1868, Dan. 44, and Keil 14.) Such a view is of course no longer tenable as the cuneiform inscriptions now show that the Babylonian language was in use until quite a late date.

Nöldeke's theory, Sem. Spr. 41, f., that the Ass. language died as a spoken idiom shortly before the fall of Nineveh, seems entirely unfounded. Gutbrod, Z.A. VI. 27, relates that in 1887 he saw a brick upon which was engraved in Aram. and Gk. letters, a proper name of distinctly Assyrian character; [illegible] Asaseraseanes. When it is remembered that a living language exercises the greatest possible influence on the

formations of proper names, this brick which is unfortunately undated would seem to be an evidence, as he thinks, that Assyrian was spoken until Hellenic times.

As a literary language however it may have survived as late as the 2d century after Christ. (See op. cit. p. 29,ff)

It is equally unconvincing to suppose that Aramaean, as the popular tongue of the period when the book was written was used for the narrative parts and Hebrew, as the more learned language for the philosophical portions; ~~(note 1)~~ 1) over because Ch.I., which is just as much in the narrative style as the following Aramaean sections, is in Hebrew, while the distinctly apocalyptic Ch. 7, is in Aramaean.

A third supposition that the bilingual character of the work points to a time when both Hebrew and Aramaean were used indifferently, (note 2) over is certainly strange, as it is very questionable if two languages can ever be used quite indifferently. A hybrid work in two idioms would certainly be a monstrosity.

Huetius (Demonstr Evang. 472 quoted Berth. p. 51) believed that the entire work was written originally in Aramaean and translated subsequently into Hebrew. In the troubled Seleucidan Period, he thought that the Hebrew edition was

1st NOTE: The opinion of Merx. cf. Lenormant Magie Germ. Ed. p. 527.

2d NOTE: cf. Bertholdt p. 15, (and later Hävernick.) Delitzsch, Franz, R.E. III. 272, followed substantially the same theory, considering that the change was due to the Aram. answer of the Chaldaeans in Ch. 2, V. 4.

partly destroyed and the missing portions supplied from the original Aramaean. This theory, although very ingenious, does not however commend itself as the most satisfactory explanation.

Bertholdt Comm. 52, in commenting on Huetius' view has hit upon what seems to me the proper solution of the problem, but did not adopt it; i.e. he remarked that it had not yet occurred to anyone to consider the Aramaean text as a translation and the Hebrew as the original. In view of the apparent unity of the entire work which B. did not recognize, no other explanation for its bilingual character seems possible. The book was probably written originally at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes all in Hebrew, but in the course of time when Hebrew became less easily understood, a translation was made into the Aramaean vernacular. We must suppose then that certain parts of the original Hebrew Mss. being lost, the missing places were supplied from the current Aramaean translation.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

The Mysterious Writing.

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Having set forth as far as possible the proper light in which the record of the Fifth Chapter of Daniel should be regarded, a thorough investigation of the account of the Mysterious Writing is next in order.

The question which should be settled seems to be whether the biblical account of the appearance of this enigmatical sentence is to be considered as a pure invention of the Author of Daniel, or, like certain other statements in the fifth chapter, as having a historical background.

The sentence which appeared on the wall contains a carefully worded prophecy of the downfall of the Babylonian empire and dynasty, and the transfer of the power to the Medes and Persians. It may be well therefore, before entering on the discussion concerning the historical character of the Biblical account, to state briefly the actual history of the fall of Babylon.

Previous to the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions

Note 1 —

Λαβουχοδονόσορος + + + ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρωστίαν μετηλλάξατο τὸν βίον, βεβασιλευκὼς ἔτη τεσσαρακοντα πέντε τῆς δὲ βασιλείας κύριος ἐγένετο ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ευιλμαραδόχος. Οὗτος προϊὼν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνόμως καὶ ἀνελεῶς, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔχοντος αὐτὸν Νηριγλισσόρου ἀνῃρέθη, βασιλεύσας ἔτη δύο. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναιρεθῆναι τοῦτον διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας αὐτῷ Νηριγλισσόορος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τέσσαρα. Τούτου υἱὸς Λαβοροσσάρχοδος ἐκυρίευσε μὲν τῆς βασιλείας παῖς ὢν μῆνας ἐννέα, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ, διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν κακοήθη, ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπεσπαρακίσθη. Ἀπολυμένου δὲ τούτου συνελθόντες οἱ ἐπιβουλευσαντες αὐτῷ κοινῇ τὴν βασιλείαν περιέθηκαν Ναβοννήδῃ τινὶ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος, ὅστις τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισυστάσεως. + + + + + + ὄντος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει, προεξεληλυθὼς Κῦρος ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, καὶ καταστρεψάμενος τὴν λοιπὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ἀισθόμενος δὲ Λαβόνηδος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παρατάξαμενος, ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ φυγὼν ὀλιγοστὸς συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηνῶν πόλιν. Κῦρος δὲ Βαβυλῶνα καταλαβόμενος, καὶ τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασκάψας διὰ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῷ πραγματικὴν καὶ δυσάλωτον φανῆναι τῇ πόλει, ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Βόρσιππον, ἐκπολιορκήσων τὸν Ναβόννηδον.

relating to this event, comparatively little could be known accurately.

The chief sources upon which historians were forced to depend were the account of Berosus which Eusebius and Josephus took from Alexander Polyhistor, and the narrative of Herodotus 1. 188 ff. The statement of the former in Josephus Contra Ap. 1. 20. is as follows : "Nabuchodonosor x x x fell sick and departed this life when he had reigned forty-three years, whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impure manner and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissar his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Neriglissar, the person who had plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom and reigned four years. His son Labosoarchod, though but a child, obtained the kingdom and kept it nine months, but by reason of the very ill temper and ill practices he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him by his friends and he was tortured to death. After his death the conspirators got together and by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus a man of Babylon and one who belonged to that insurrection. x x x But when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great

τὸν δὲ Λαζικήδον οὐκ ὑπομείναντες τὴν πολιορκίαν
ἀλλ' ἐγχειρίσαντες αὐτὸν πρότερον, χρησάμενος
κύρος φιλανθρώπως, καὶ δοὺς ἀσκητήρια αὐτῷ
Καρμανίας, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς Βασιλωνίας.
Ναζόνηδος μὲν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου
διαγενόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε
τὸν βίον

army and having already conquered the rest of Asia, came hastily to Babylon. When Nabonnedus perceived that he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces and joining battle was defeated and fled away with a few of his troops and shut himself up within the city of Borsippus. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon and gave order that the outer wall of the city be demolished because the city had proved very troublesome, and cost him a great deal of pains to take. He then marched to Borsippus to besiege Nabonnedus. As Nabonnedus however did not sustain the siege but delivered himself up he was at first kindly used by Cyrus who gave him Carmania as a place to dwell in, sending him out of Babylon. Nabonnedus, accordingly, spent the rest of his life in that country and there died."

Herodotus 1. 188. ff. relates that the King of Babylon Labynetus, the son of the great queen Nitocris, was attacked by Cyrus. The Persian king on his march to Babylon arrived at the river Gyndes a tributary of the Tigris. While the Persians were trying to cross this stream, one of the white consecrated horses boldly entered the water and, being swept away by the rapidity of the current was lost. Cyrus exasperated by the accident, suspended his operations against Babylon and wasted the entire summer in satisfying his re

note 2.—

Τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐμβάλλει καὶ ὄπισθε κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως τάξας ἕτερους, τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὁ ποταμός. Προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥεῖθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταυτῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Οὕτῳ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀκρῃείῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

+ + + + Τὸν γὰρ ποτάμον διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λιμνην ἐοῦσαν ἕλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥεῖθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε. Ὡς δὲ ἔφασαν, ὅκῃ περ ἐτετάκατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥεῖθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονενοστηκότος αὐδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστα κῃ κατὰ τοῦτο εσῄεσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα.

sentment by draining the river dry. On the approach of the following spring he marched against Babylon. The Babylonians, as he advanced met and gave him battle but were defeated and driven back into the city. The inhabitants of Babylon however had previously guarded against a siege by collecting provisions and other necessaries sufficient for many years' support, so that Cyrus was compelled to resort to stratagem. He[2] placed one detachment of his forces where the river first enters the city, and another where it leaves it, directing them to enter the channel and attack the town wherever the passage could be effected. After this disposition of his men he withdrew with the less effective of his troops to the marshy ground x x x and pierced the bank, introducing the river into the lake, (the lake made by Nitocris some distance from Babylon. See Herodotus 1. 185.), by which means the bed of the Euphrates became sufficiently shallow for the object in view. The Persians in their station watched the proper opportunity and when the stream had so far retired as not to be higher than their thighs, they entered Babylon without difficulty. The account goes on to say that, as the Babylonians were engaged in a festival, they were completely surprised by the sudden attack and una-

ble to defend the city, which thus fell an easy prey to the invaders.

The two cuneiform documents relating to the fall of Babylon, which have shed a wonderful light on this period of the world's history, are the Cyrus Cylinder and the Annals of Nabonidus. The former was discovered in 1879 by the assistants of Hormuzd Rassam in the ruins of Qaçr at Babylon, a hill which according to the opinion of Rassam covers the remains of a great palace.

The tablet called the Annals of Nabonidus was obtained by the British Museum in 1879 from Spartoli & Co. The place where it was found is unknown, although Mr. Pinches declares decidedly that the document came from Babylon. It seems to belong to a series of annalistic tablets which were collected and preserved by the Achaemenian kings. (Compare Hagen BA 2. 206. and see appendix 1.) For the convenience of the reader a translation of both of these inscriptions has been given in appendix 1.

These two important documents must of course be considered as the historical authority concerning the fall of Babylon and all other accounts should be judged according to their agreement with the cuneiform records. The chief points

Note 3.---For the chronology of Cyrus' reign, his ancestry and kingdom see additional note.

Note 4.---VR. 64. 12. The Medes during the reign of Nabonidus had attacked Harran and destroyed the city and temple of Sin.

Note 5.---Herodotus 1. 76. Note that Justin Hist. 1. 7. 4. inverts the order of conquest, placing that of Babylonia before Lydia, while Sulpicius Hist. 2. 10. passed directly from the Median conquest to that of Babylonia.

Croesus, king of Lydia, whom Cyrus captured, was according to Herodotus 1. 75. the brother-in-law of Astyages. Cyrus treated him kindly and gave him the city of Bareine near Ecbatana as a residence ; according to Ctesias Phot. 36. b. 17., with 5000 riders and 10,000 bowmen as retinue.

of difference between the account of the inscriptions and the narratives of Berosus and Herodotus, just given, have been remarked upon in the notes and will be easily apparent.

Before passing on to the history of the approach of the Persians on Babylonia the following facts should be noticed. After Cyrus king of Ansan,[3] according to the record of the Annals, had gotten possession of Media, the Persian prince, finding himself transformed from the ruler of an insignificant province, to the leader of a great kingdom, turned his eyes westward. (See note to verse 28.) Here Nabonidus the king of Babylon, who had at first regarded the defeat of his old enemies the Medes[4] as a direct intervention of the gods, now, becoming alarmed at the sudden rise of this new power, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Lydia and Egypt; a league which should certainly have been sufficient to check the advance of the Persian forces. Lydia was compelled however by the swift movements of the enemy to defend herself without waiting for her allies. Cyrus after totally routing the Lydian army at Pteria[5] proceeded directly against Sardis the capital, which he captured without difficulty and there established his permanent headquarters in the northwest.

Note 6.---Herodotus 1. 153. The post of governor of Sardis was one of the most important positions in the Persian empire. This official seems to have held the precedence over the neighboring satraps. Compare Nöldeke, Aufsätze 21.

Note 7.---Compare Floigl, Cyrus & Herod. 125 who supplies "Isparda ---Sardis for the name of the place. But see Unger, ~~Cyrus &~~ Cyax. & Astyages 6. who objects quite rightly that "Isparda" is the "Median" form, whereas the name in the Babylonian would have been "Saparda." cf. Schrader DL. 2. '81. 58. Winckler's conclusion that the country was Singara or some independent state between the rivers (Uag. 131) is rather farfetched.

The Persian king did not then hasten at once against Babylonia his second powerful rival, but, after settling affairs in Lydia and appointing governors over all the conquered provinces returned to Ecbatana.

The following historical account of the approach of Cyrus on Babylon and the fall of that empire may be gathered from the Annals of Nabonidus and the Cyrus Cylinder.

It is recorded in the Annals of the ninth year of Nabonidus (column 2. 16. 17.) that Cyrus approached the Tigris and made an expedition against some country (name effaced) whose king he killed. It has been conjectured that this is a reference to the Lydian campaign, the only great victory between the sixth and tenth years of Nabonidus, for which the Tigris would have to be crossed. The advancer of this theory evidently forgot that fully two months would have been necessary for the Persians to go from Susiana to the Halys, whereas, according to the cuneiform account, Cyrus collected his troops in Nisan (March-April) and entered the enemy's country in Iyar. (May-June) The short space of time occupied on the march shows conclusively that the object of the attack cannot have been Lydia, but was probably some country necessary as a basis of operations against that

Note 8.---Evers, Empor-kommen der Persischen Macht 9. note 1. Meyer Gesch. 603 thought that this was a reference to the battles in the Median provinces west of the Euphrates.

Note 9.---Hagen BA 2. 240. see note to line in appendix 1.

Note 10.---Annals 2. 21. 22. The text is bady mutilated. Sayce Fresh Light, translates quite wrongly "The soldiers of Elam marched into Akkad." Compare Floigl op. cit. 58. Halevy Melanges p. 2. It is highly improbable that this can be a reference to the invasion of Lydia, (Unger, ~~Cyrus &~~ Cyax. & Astyages. 7.), as the situation of Erech, so far to the southwest would preclude the possibility of an attack on Lydia from this quarter. (Evers 9. 10.) It is much more reasonable to regard it as the account of an excursion against Babylonia from the south.

Note 11.---Not against Cyrus.---Evers op. cit. 12.

Note 12.---Annals 3. 12. Ux-ki read Upe--Opis, by Pinches, a city on the Tigris ; see literature cited by Hagen BA 2. 243. and note 1. The exact situation of the Salsallat is doubtful. It seems probable, according to Hagen, that the first conflict took place at Opis, after which the Babylonians under Belšarucur retired to the canal (?) Salsallat,

kingdom.[8] There is really no authority for supposing that this place was on the west bank of the Tigris, as it is even doubtful if the translation "crossed" is correct.[9]

In the tenth year of Nabonidus there seems to have been an invasion probably of the Persians from Ëlam, which may have been directed against Erech.[10] The record of the Annals is unfortunately so mutilated that comparatively little can be learned about this period of the invasion. Where the text again becomes legible the matter of the conquest of Babylonia seems practically to be decided.

It is stated that Nabonidus entered the temple of Eturkalama (Annals 3. 6.) evidently to seek help from the gods, while a rebellion against his authority took place on the lower sea (?)[11] The god Bel was then brought out with a solemn religious festival, (Annals 3, 3. 8. 9. 10.) and as a last resource, numerous deities were brought to Babylon as a protection to that city. This so infuriated Marduk the god of the city of Babylon that he decided to deliver up Nabonidus to Cyrus. (Cyrus Cylinder 10. ff. and 33. 34.) In the month of Tamūz (539 B. C.) Cyrus offered battle at Opis[12] and also on the canal (?) Salsallat, which evidently resulted in his favor. The Babylonians defeated on all sides[13] and disgusted with their feeble king, surrendered Sippar to the Per-

where they were defeated. The text cannot mean Opis on the S. as this would be "Upe ša ina muxxi Salsallat." Hommel, Gesch 785. reads "Kiš," others Rutu, a place in southern Babylonia. So Halevy Melanges 3. Sayce Fresh Light 171. Pinches Tsba 7. 174. n. 1. Budinger 12. Evers 13. note 1.

Note 13.---Evers 12. thought that in Annals 3. 14. was the account of a rebellion against Cyrus but compare BA 2. 244 and note to line in appendix 1.

Note 14.---So Evers 12, Floigl op. cit. 61. According to the account of Herodotus 1. 190. 191. (see above) Babylon was captured by the device of drawing off the water of the Euphrates. (Compare also Xenophon Cyr. 7. 5. 15.) This, as Floigl thought, could have been done from Sippar and the account is not excluded by the cuneiform record. The short space of time intervening between the capture of Sippar and Babylon, seems to show however, that the device was not carried out.

Note 15.---Tiele's supposition is evidently correct. See Gesch. 472. note 3. The idea that this passage records a rebellion of the troops of Gutium (Pinches Tsba. Sayce Fresh Light 171. Hommel 783.) against Cyrus is improbable. It would be highly unlikely that Gobryas' soldiers should rebel at this time.

sians on the 14th of Tammuz (539---538 B. C. Annals 3. 14.) As this city was the key to the whole sluice region it was important for Cyrus to get possession of it before he could besiege Babylon successfully.[14] By breaking the dams at Sippar, in case of need, the water could be cut off from all the plain. There seems however to have been no necessity for such stringent measures, as two days later (16th of Tammuz) the gates of the capital itself were opened to Gobryas, the governor of Gutium and commander of a section of the Persian army, who formally took possession of the city in Cyrus' name. (Annals 3. 15. see also Cylinder 17. "without strife and battle he let him enter into Babylon. ")

Nabonidus who had fled to Babylon after the capture of Sippar was taken prisoner and held to await the coming of Cyrus. The remnant of the Babylonian Royal Party seems to have taken refuge in the great temple of Esaggil, the gates of which were kept closed and guarded by the troops of Gobryas.[15] (Shields of Gutium.) The siege cannot have lasted very long as it is stated that the besieged had no weapons.

Four months later on the third of Marchesvan Cyrus himself entered the city of Babylon and decreed peace to all, appointing his general Gobryas governor of the city, and sena-

Note 16.---In the record of the Cylinder no mention is made of Gobryas ; it is merely stated that Cyrus and his army entered the city without battle. Cyl. 16. 17. It is not necessary to suppose a contradiction between the Annals and the Cylinder, as the account in the latter is more general, and it was therefore unnecessary to give such details as are found in the Annals. Xenophon Cyr. 7. 5. 15. has also preserved the account of the capture of the city by Gobryas making him a great Assyrian leader, who, desiring vengeance on the King of Babylon for the murder of his only son, allied himself with Cyrus.

Note 17.---Cylinder 28. ff. Gaza alone in the land of the Philistines seems to have refused tribute and offered resistance ; compare Valesius Polyb. 16. 40. quoted Nöldeke Aufsätze 23. note 2.

ing back to their own shrines the gods which Nabonidus had brought to Babylon. The Persian monarch was received with great rejoicing by the nobles, priests and people, who hastened to declare their allegiance. (Cyr. Cyl.18.) He then assumed formally the title of King of Babylon and of Sumer and Akkad (Cyl. 20.), receiving the homage of the tributary kings of the westland.

It is probable in accordance with the account of Berosus given above, that Cyrus dismantled to some extent the fortifications of Babylon soon after its capture. That he canot utterly have destroyed the defenses is evident from the fact that the city stood repeated sieges during subsequent revolts. (One under Cyrus, two under Darius Hystaspes and one under Xerxes. Compare Rawlinson's Herodotus 425 note 5. For the second revolt of Babylon see Herodotus 3. 153-160---the story of Zopyrus and Justin 1. c. 10. For Zopyrus compare "De Zopyro Babylonios fallente disputatio, M. Johann Christoph. 1685) Judging from the assertion of Jerome (commentary on Isaiah 14. 3.) that the walls had been repaired and renewed as an enclosure for a park, they were at no time completely destroyed.

The causes which led to the fall of the Babylonian dy-

nasty and to the transferring of the empire to the Persians are not difficult to determine.

The first independent king of Babylon after the overthrow of Assyria was Nabupaluçur, the father of the great Nebuchadnezzar. After a comparatively uneventful reign of twenty-one years he was succeeded by his son Nebuchadnezzar, the real founder of the empire of Babylon. Not only a great warrior, the terror of whose arms was felt as far as Egypt, and who, by his conquests, made Babylon the political centre of a mighty empire, but also a lover of art and architecture who prized his fame as the restorer of the capital far more than his military glory. (Compare Teile Gesch. 441. 454.) Nebuchadnezzar was the ~~one~~ greatest name of Babylonian history, the first and last king of Babylon. His father Nabupaluçur but paved the way for his great son, and his successors, by their feeble policy, merely prepared the inevitable downfall of the empire. Amilmarduk, the "Evilmerodach" of Berosus, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, was not even able to protect his own crown.

Following the account of Berosus, a conspiracy forced him from the throne and placed Nergalsaruçur (Neriglissar), according to both Berosus and Abydenus (Tiele 457.) his bro-

Note 18.---The succession of Babylonian kings given by Berosus (see above) is quite correct and agrees not only with the Ptolemaean Canon but with the cuneiform inscriptions ; -- see Tiele 423. 424 & 464 f. The Ptolemaean Canon omits only Labaši-Marduk, son of Nergalšaruçur owing to the shortnness of his reign. Only those kings are recorded who governed for longer than one year ; see Floigl op. cit. 70. According to Abydenus Labaši-Marduk was a boy not older than twelve years. See Floigl 25. and compare in this connection Tiele 424. note 2.

Note 19.---The temples which he repaired were : a.) Temple of Sin in Sippar. VR. 63. 25. a.---64. 47. b.---21 c.--65. 10. ff. b.) of Anunit. (Eulbar in Sippar. 1. R. 69. c. 3. VR. 64. 22. 42. c.) Eulbar of Agane 1R. 69. c. 2. 29. ff. d.) Tower of the Temple of Sin in Ur.1R. 68. No. 1. 5. and other sanctuaries, No. 6. 7. e.) Temple of Šamaš in Larsa. iR. 68. No. 4. compare 69. c. 1. & 2. f.) Of Sin in Harran VR. 64. 8 a.---46b. Compare BA 2. 237. note.

Note 20.---The king seems to have been unable either to prevent the attack of the Medes on Harran or to punish them for their destruction of the city. (see above p.[illegible]) He was equally powerless to resist the expedition of Amasis of Cyprus against Egypt by which several cities were captured. Tiele Gesch. 468.

ther-in-law, in his stead. The latter after a short reign, was succeeded by his son Labaši-Marduk (the Labosoarchod of Berosus) who, at the time of his accession, was probably very young. This king reigned only nine months and, according to Berosus, was ousted by a second coalition, which entrusted the government to Nabonidus the last Babylonian ruler.[18] As Nabonidus was probably not of royal blood but merely the son of a noble (see above chapter 3) the account of his coming to the throne by means of a conspiracy may be substantially correct.

It will appear from this succession of events that the seeds of decay were ripening fast, as early as the beginning of the reign of Nabonidus, who, had he been a different character, might have delayed the final catastrophe at least beyond his own lifetime. But this king, as is evident from the tone of the records of his reign, was by nature a peaceful prince, whose taste lay not in government or conquest but in archaeology and religious architecture. His inscriptions are one long list of temples repaired[19] and pious duties performed. Under his feeble sway the vast and heterogeneous empire, lacking the strong hand of a conquering ruler to punish defection and protect his subjects from foreign attacks, naturally began to fall to pieces, until finally the Baby-

Note 21.---IIR. 5. ff. Tema was evidently not a quarter of Babylon (Hommel Gesch. 779. Pinches Tsba. 7. 152.) but a place at some distance from the capital. The king would hardly have stopped so long in a quarter of the city without attending the yearly feast of Marduk. Tiele's conjecture (Gesch. 470. note 1.) that Tema was probably not in Akkad, because it is especially stated that the king was in Tema and the son of the king in Akkad, as Akkad was the general name for all Babylonia, seems improbable. (For Akkad see Lehmann Šamaššumukîn-71f.) It is impossible however to determine the exact situation of Tema.

Note 22.---Cylinder 7. probably of Esaggil. the writer of the Cyrus Cylinder may have been a priest of Marduk.

lonian name in western Asia became more a shadow than a reality.

Towards the close of his reign Nabonidus showed himself even more incapable than in his earlier years, for, while devoting especial attention to the repairing and maintenance of the Temples, he entirely neglected the defences of the capital and the annual festival of Marduk, choosing to live in Tema[21] rather than in Babylon, and evidently leaving all military matters to his son who, as shown above, was probably in command of the army. Practically no steps seem to have beentaken either to prevent the advance of the Persians or to meet them when they came, so that when Cyrus arrived he found a people in rebellion against their king and ready to exchange his rule for a firmer sway. The fact that both Sippar and Babylon were taken by the Persian forces without battle, certainly seems to show that there existed a powerful faction in Babylonia in league with the invaders.

It is possible that the priests of Marduk in the city of Babylon were especially instrumental in bringing about the final blow. Probably hostile to Belšarucur the crowned prince (see above), disgusted with the king's neglect of the city and of the regular offerings[22] and finally infuriated by

Note 23-- Nabonidus was certainly not a reactionary heretic, who tried to introduce a Sin cult; (Floigl op. cit. 2.) first, because the King did not confine his attention to Sin (Compare note 19.) and secondly, as Tiele has pointed out ((Gesch. 460. also Evers 17. 18.) It was these very priests of Marduk who inspired him to repair the temples and to give attention to the cults of other deities. Compare 5R. 64. 16. where Marduk reveals his will to Nabonidus in a dream? The insult to Marduk, which turned the scale against the King, was his criminal slothfulness about protecting Babylon and his introduction of other Gods into Marduk' own City.

his infringement on the jurisdiction of their god in introducing strange deities into Babylon they would naturally have cast their influence in favor of a change of rule.[23] It must be remembered that the priests exercised the most powerful influence in Babylonian affairs, being even stronger than the royal house. The inscriptions of every sort point to the supremacy and importance of the religious classes, as one of the most constant themes of these documents is the frequent allusion to building of temples, temple gifts, restoration of offerings &c. This prominence of the priestly classes is to be explained by the fact that they were the custodians of all knowledge. The art of writing, astronomy and magic were their peculiar provinces. It will readily be understood therefore that their favor or disfavor would turn the scale in an attempt against the reigning dynasty. In addition to this it may be supposed that the large Jewish element, which had been transplanted by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon and which could not be expected to feel especially well disposed to the Babylonian dynasty, probably played a considerable part in the final conspiracy. In view of the quick and rapid way with which the empire changed hands it does not seem impossible that Persian emissaries had been

Note 24-- Compare the enthusiastic prophecies regarding Cyrus the shepherd of God Isaiah 44. 28: 45. 1. Cyrus permitted the Jews to return to their old home in the first year of his reign,- 537. B. C. Compare Ezra 1.

Note 24-- Isaiah 13. 14. psalm 137. Jeremiah 51. The prophecies of the destruction of Babylon were certainly not carried out. The only one fulfilled to the letter was that regarding the return of the Jews.

in communication with the conspirators, who seem to have been quite prepared to surrender. To these messengers the devout Jews, in common with the discontented Babylonian religious party, although for totally different reasons, probably listened with willing ears. It may be supposed that the native Babylonians, glad at any price to be rid of their incompetent ruler were forced to make the best of the prospect of a foreign supremacy, while the religious element of the Jews to whom permission to return to Palestine may have been promised beforehand, certainly regarded Cyrus as the anointed of Jehovah who would carry out His will in every respect and utterly destroy Babylon and its Gods; a hope which Cyrus was wise enough not to realize.

As has just been intimated it is highly probable that the Babylonian conspirators were to a great extent in the power of circumstances. We cannot doubt that had opportunity offered, the faction hostile to Nabonidus would have deposed him as his predecessors had been deposed and placed another native on the throne. Unfortunately for them such a course was imposible, as the forces of Cyrus had triumphed everywhere, and it must have been evident that

his capture of the City was merely a matter of time. The conspirators were therefore compelled by circumstances to accept the conquering invader as the successor of Nabonidus. Both Sippar and Babylon therefore were surrendered without any resistance worthy of mention and Cyrus himself, on entering the capital was received with flattering rejoicings.

Bearing in mind the facts concerning the fall of the Babylonian power we may now proceed to investigate, whether the account of the Book of Daniel concerning the miraculous appearance of a warning writing during the progress of the feast on the eve of the capture of Babylon, must be considered as a pure invention of the author, or perhaps an echo of history. Although practically no details are known concerning the time of the fall of Babylon, and there is no parallel record of such a portent as is described in Daniel 5., it still seems probable, as will appear from the following, that a basis of fact underlies the Biblical narrative.

The first question that should be asked is whether it is possible that such an event took place. It has already been noticed above that there may be a historical back-ground for the Biblical account for the feast of

Belshazzar (See chapter 3, page [illegible]) and if it be admitted that such a festival was actually held near the close of the reign of Nabonidus, there is nothing to prevent the supposition that a warning may have been given during its progress.

There are three difficulties to be explained however, which the Biblical account presents.

A. Why the writing was unintelligible to the hierogrammatists.

B. The true meaning of the warning.

C. How and by whom the portent was produced.

A. If such an inscription appeared at the Babylonian Court, it is certainly reasonable to suppose that it was written in the Babylonian language and in the cuneiform character. The inability of the King and his lords and even of the skilled scribes to read the inscription ~~to read the inscription~~ is probably to be explained by the fact that it appeared in some complicated and unusual ideographic form (See Chapter 1, page 9) This view is similar to that advanced by the Talmudists who thought that the mysterious words were in a cabalistic alphabet. (See above page 8) The theory noticed above that the difficulty experienced by the scribes

in deciphering the sentence, was because it was in a foreign language and character is hardly tenable. Had the warning been written in a foreign language the effect of the interpretation would have been to a great extent lost on the King. The point seems to be, that directly the explanation was given by Daniel, the King understood it perfectly, which would probably not have been the case had it appeared in a foreign idiom. A second consideration which should not be forgotten is, that in a cosmopolitan court like the Babylonian a foreign language would have probably been immediately recognized.

If then the writing appeared in the Babylonian language, it was in all probability not only in the ideographic character, but also in a form which would not have been easily recognized even by those who were trained in such matters. The view that the sentence must have been originally in Babylonian is strengthened by the fact that it can be reproduced in that language with surprisingly little change.

TheAramaean sentence as given in the 25th. verse of the 5th. chapter reads מנא מנא תקל ופרסין

As stated above, the first מנא is probably to be considered as a passive participle from מנה, to count. In

Note 26-- Passives with internal vowel change have not been lost in Assyrian but are not developed. The active and passive participles are not yet sharply distinguished, the difference being merely arbitrary. For examples of passive participles compare the frequent "Kima labirisu šaṭîr-- written like its original " and "Sapux epru, dust is spread" See Jras. 1878, 244. Haupt. The frequent passive meaning of the intensive permansive may be compared in this connection. See Zb. 11.

Note 27-- Note that a number of forms like qanù suffer apocope of the long final vowel in the construct state. Thus qanù-qan. Sadù, mountain--sad. Našû, bearer--naš. Rašù, possessor--raš. Rabû, great--rab.

this case the corresponding form in Assyrian would be "Mani".

The second "מנא" meaning mina is equivalent to the Assyrian manù=mina usually written ideographically ma-na, and really the passive participle of manù, to count. The Assyrian word for mina, although generally occurring ideographically, is occasionally found written plene. Thus, in Nbk. 17. 6: 139. 5. Tallqvist op. cit. 96. we find the form ma-nu-u-, in Nbk. 46, 8, 4. Strm. B. T. --ma-ni, and in Nbk. 67. 4: 176. 5: 262. 5. Strm. B. T. Ma-ni-e, (Compare also ZAl. 199.[25]) Manû is a form like qanù--reed.[27]

It is interesting to notice that the familiar Mammon (Μαμωνᾶς) of the New Testament may be a loan word from the same stem as "manù"=mina. There is an Assyrian word "manninu", probably meaning, a vessel capable of holding a mina full, which occurs in the Tel El Amarna inscriptions, frequently in connection with "Bigru." Jensen considered rightly that "Bigru" and "Manninu" are the prototype of the Mandaean "מנינא ובגרא" money and property. (See Nöldeke Mandaean grammar 50.) with Metathesis in the case of "Bigru" and "מגרא". A similar change of consonants he finds in "Stonecutter" "מגלא" and "מגלא". (See Cosm. 250. remark 2. and 352

Note 25-- Saqalu may be a shaphel formation from qalu= belight. Compare Šakanu, probably from "פרן", and šararu, from "ירר"; in the case of Šaqalu the š is ش, appearing in Arabic as ث, while the ش of the shaphel is ش₃, because we find it in Arabic as "س". We may explain this by supposing that such a form as ثقل, with ث, was borrowed from a dialect where the original ش of the shaphel was lisped like ת. Compare the case of "פעמון"; se above note a to verse 7 and BAl. 181. note 2.

remark, and for further examples Zimmern ZA5 1891. Note 2.) Nöldeke (l. c.) connects Mandaean "מנינא" with the Syriac -)מנינא - Manna. It is extremely probable therefore, that Manninn is the original of "Manna." Hoffmann's idea is of course untenable that "מנין" is a loan word from Phoenician מנים - treasures, which he thinks is connected with the Greek μνα(ῶ)ν! (See Nestle Syriac grammar English edition, page XI.) "מנים" is probably a plural of "מנה" = mina (See Levy Phoen Wört. 1881.) and is consequently purely a semitic stem.

Shekel, the third word of the mysterious sentence, by regular mutation of the ש and ס, corresponds to the Assyrian Siqlu, from Saqalu, to weigh.[28] The word is almost invariably written ideographically "TU", but the form Siqlu is now established as the proper pronunciation. According to C. F. Lehmann, (Verhandlung der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft June 20th. 1891, page 518, note 1.), Mr. Strassmaier states that the reading siqlu is confirmed by a syllabary. Compare also DW 90. note 4. (The fact that Lehmann in his latest production Šwassamkin, 1892. page 20. note 4. characterizes the reading siqlu

by two question marks, is because this part of the work was printed some years ago before the true pronunciation of the word had been established.) Oppert's reading "Daragmana" ZAl. 430. he has himself abandoned. See BAl. 490.

Siqlu is a form like Sibtu staff; igru, hire &c.

The last word of the phrase "פרסין" half minas, plural of "פרס" is equivalent to the Assyrian parsu-- a part, from parasu to separate. (Parasu,= separate, Asb. 9. 46: check, stop, San. 6. 14: 4R 57.7a: Bih. 2. 19: quarrel 4R. 58. 22: alienate Asb. 3. 83.) Parsu means technically a section of a chapter. (See Kb2. 284. 39.) ~~or a chamber; a place barred off.~~ (~~Tig. c. 7. 105.~~)

Combining then these three words as in the Aramaean of Daniel, the supposed Assyro-Babylonian original may be restored as follows: "Manî manû (or ideographically ma-na) Siqlu u parsè:

Thou have been counted a mina, a shekel and parts." (of a mina = half minas)

It cannot be a mina, as Lagarde has pointed out that probably under the influence of Dan. 4 v. 24 the ideographic values of these four words,- count, mina, shekel and part, were unintentionally given which almost any

te 29—

If the signs be read ~~in~~ according to this ~~order~~ grouping, it would be almost impossible to arrive at the true meaning of the mysterious sentence. Thus, the first combination [illegible], may have twenty different meanings;— such, for example, as "alaktie" = way, going, "menetie" = minister, "sanque" = priest etc etc. See Brümmow 5964 - 5981, & 5997, 5998.

The second combination, [illegible] — might signify "is fit, suitable" (cf Min. Cp. 67. 18), while the meanings of [illegible] can be multiplied almost indefinitely. Thus, it would be possible to read "ussure", "parasse" in any form; "axxu", "side", "ellu", bright, any part of the verb "namirre", "tirame", twins etc, etc. See Brümmow 1728 ff.

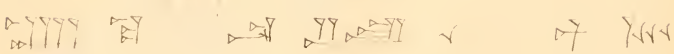
~~One possible reading for the sentence in this distorted form would be;~~

~~... [illegible] (xxx) tirame~~

~~The [illegible] is fit for~~

educated Babylonian would have been able to read (compare Mitteil. 4. 364.) If the trained scribes of the Babylonian court were unable to decipher the mysterious sentence, the difficulty must have lain rather in the arrangement of the signs than in the mere fact that the words were written ideographically. In the Babylonian ideographic character the phrase would have appeared thus;

If however we suppose that the **signs** were grouped in some ~~fanciful~~ unusual way; for example as follows:



a rebus can easily be formed which would have puzzled the most skillful of Babylonian hierogrammatists.[29] De Lagarde (Mitteil. 4. 364.) amusingly remarked that the riddle is of the same nature as that of the Innsbrucker, who, as a greeting to his Emperor coming to the Tyrolean capital, had the figure of a Franciscan monk painted on his house with the word "Wie" written above it. The rebus must be read "wie

This is hardly a good parallel. A better illustration of the nature of the mysterious sentence may be found in the tricky Latin phrases often given in Latin Primers in Germany — "no bis per pontem" (I swim twice through the bridge) "Anser bibit magister" — the goose drinks more than three times. "Pater mea in silvam meam lupus est filium tuum" (Father go into the wood for a wolf is eating thy son). It is hardly necessary to mention the familiar "mea mater est mala sus."

Franz ist Keiner. "

Having offered a suggestion which may in some sort explain the inability of the wise men to read the mysterious sentence the second difficulty as to the true meaning and application of the warning should now be discussed.

B. The mysterious sentence consists of three names of weights grouped together in a strange order, the two greater quantities being separated by the lesser: mina, shekel and half-minas. It may be supposed that beneath these terms lies some typical meaning which is not fully brought out in the explanation of the sentence by Daniel. The interpretation which the writer puts into the mouth of the prophet is based on a paranomasia. Thus, mina (מְנָא) is explained by מְנָה -to count "God has counted thy Kingdom and finished it"

shekel (שְׁקֵל) is explained by שָׁקַל -to weigh. "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting"

half-mina (פְּרֵס) is explained by פרס,- to divide "Thy Kingdom has been divided (פְּרִיסָת) and given to the Medes and Persians."

In the latter case there is clearly a double

Note 30--The passage is as follows:

טוב יבוא מנה בן פרס אל מנה בן מנה ואל יבוא מנה בן מנה אל מנה בן פרס:

It is good that a mina, son of a half-mina, come to a mina, son of a mina, but not that a mina, son of a mina, should come to a mina, son of a half-mina.

Note 31--It is well known that the weight mina contains 60 shekels, this shekel serving also as the smallest gold unit; i. e. a gold shekel weighed one sixtieth of the weight mina. The gold mina on the other hand contained only 50 shekels, so that it was equal only to five-sixths of the weight mina. Compare Verhandlungen der physikalischen gesellschaft zu Berlin, published February, 1890 page 95. C. F. Lehmann; also Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen gesellschaft March 1889 page 249. and Encyclopedia Britt. 17. 631. and the passage Askt. 55. 42. (Çibit) 1 ma-na, 12 ṣiqli tan--the interest of one mina is twelve shekels; 1. e. at 20 per cent.

paranomasia on מדי ,- Persian.

The idea of Gunkel mentioned above, that the real typical significance of the three words is suggested by the Talmudic usage of mina and half-mina seems to be correct. We may compare in addition to the examples cited by him the passage Ta'anith 21. b. where a mina son of a half-mina denotes a son better than his father, while a mina son of a mina means a son equal to his father. (See Levy. Chald. Wört.)[30]

If the words mina, shekel and half-mina of the mysterious sentence be understood as indicating a comparison of persons, the meaning and force of the allusion at once becomes clear. A shekel the sixtieth part of a mina[31] is brought into direct comparison with a mina and two-half-minas. As has been already suggested by Prof. Haupt (See Chapter 1. page 7.) the mina in this connection would appear to refer to Nebuchadnezzar the greatest monarch of Babylonian history, the shekel, one sixtieth as valuable seems to point to the insignificant Belshazzar whose kingdom is to be taken from him, while, if this view be accepted the two half-minas must allude to the double nation, the Medes and

Persians, who divided between them the Empire.

Nebuchadnezzar might well be called the mina. As has already been noticed, he was not only practically the founder of the Babylonian empire, but really the ~~one~~ greatest name of the time. The author of Daniel all throughout the 5th. Chapter, is perfectly right in comparing him with the insignificant last King. The two chief points in the later Babylonian history are the rise and development of the Empire under Nebuchadnezzar and its final overthrow under the last King, so that, as already mentioned in Chapter 3, (Page 88) the Biblical author in choosing Nebuchadnezzar as the father of Belshazzar although incorrect as to detail, was in general harmony with the real history of the Babylonian period.

The Medes and Persians were the people who destroyed the unity of the Babylonian power and divided between them the great empire of Nebuchadnezzar, The Medes, a brief outline of whose history, previous to their subjugation by the Persians, has been given in Chapter 3, attained the height of their greatness under Cyaxares, who subdued the Assyrians and laid waste Nineveh, their proud capital. Although attaining a considerable influence in the farther East,

they were certainly never a world power until their union with the Persians under Cyrus. This combination was sufficient to subjugate the entire west and to establish an empire which lasted for centuries.

The mysterious sentence if understood in this light would have been peculiarly applicable at a time like the Feast described by the Author of Daniel. Towards the end of the reign of Nabonidus, it must have been evident that the days of his power were numbered, and it seems quite within the range of possibility that such a warning should have been given. Admitting first, that an explanation is possible for the difficulty experienced by the wise men in interpreting the enigma, and secondly, that such a warning would have been especially applicable to the time, the last difficulty which remains to be encountered is the question how and by whom the portent could have been produced.

C. How such an inscription was produced must of course remain unsolved. It has been considered rather significant, however, that the writing appeared opposite the light. In view of this statement the suggestion has been advanced that it may have been written beforehand in an invisible ink, which was brought out by the heat of the lights. (Prof. Haupt in his lectures.) Although it is not improbable that

Note 32.---It is worthy of notice that as early as 1806 this idea was suggested. See Bertholdt, commentary 353. where he suggests that the writing was either an attempt of some loyal servants of the king, to let him know of his danger, or a warning of conspirators.

ink of this nature was known to the ancients, especially to the Babylonian Magicians who must have been familiar with all sorts of tricks, the matter must remain an open question. (The opinions of the orthodox vary very slightly. Rabbi Saadia thought that the Angel Gabriel wrote the inscription. Compare Thube, quoted Bertholdt 346. Calvin believed that it was written by God himself. Compare Häverniek 180 etc .)

It has already been noticed above that a powerful conspiracy was in all probability concerned in the fall of Babylon. In fact we are forced to believe from the apparent ease with which the city and empire were taken, that the invaders had auxiliaries among the ranks of the Babylonians. It has been mentioned also that both the priests and the Jewish populace would have had cogent reasons for being opposed to Nabonidus. If this were the case, and if such a feast as that described in Daniel 5 really took place, it seems a natural supposition that the warning may have been produced by the agency of the conspirators.

The tone of the Fifth Chapter of Daniel, however, seems to show beyond doubt that the biblical writer considered the portent a miracle sent from God to warn the impious king of his impending punishment. The Author of Daniel accordingly

In spite of the uncertainty attending these various more or less conjectural explanations proposed,

makes use of the account to serve as a diatribe against Antiochus Epiphanes.

The biblical record seems quite consistent in making Daniel competent to interpret the riddle. It is not impossible that the Author of Daniel knew that the writing appeared in some rebus-like form which the Jewish prophet, owing to his special training in the "חרטמים חכמים" was able to solve at once. It can hardly be conjectured however that the probably real ideographic character of the inscription was known to a Maccabaean Jew. It can only be supposed that the late writer having at his disposal the account of the appearance of such an inscription during a festival of the last king of Babylon made use of the story for his own paranetic purpose.

An echo of history certainly seems to be present in the dramatic record of the Fifth Chapter of Daniel. ~~Not only is the attention attracted by~~ The preservation of the name of Belshazzar, the approximately correct statement regarding his death and the striking agreement with the biblical account concerning the last feast ~~(of~~ the record of Herodotus, ~~but it~~ also seems not impossible that the story of the appearance of mysterious sentence ~~itself~~ may ~~be based on~~ contain an echo of historical fact.

The Book of Daniel loses none of its beauty or force because we are bound, in the light of modern criticism, to

consider it a production of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, nor should conservative scholars exclaim that the historical accuracy of the work is thus destroyed. If the production be properly understood it must be admitted that the Author made no pretense at exactness of detail. To assert furthermore that with the Book of Daniel the whole prophetic structure of the Old Testament rises or falls, seems as illogical as the statement of Sir Isaac Newton that he who denies Daniel's prophecies undermines christianity.

(Compare in this connection a review by the Right Rev. H. M. Jackson, of Cheyne's Article Daniel in the Encycl. Brit. ---Virginia Seminary Magazine, February 1892, pages 149-159.)

If we consider that the prophecies were never intended to be more than a historical resume, clothed for the sake of greater literary vividness in a prophetic guise, it is hard to see how such a conclusion affects the authenticity of utterances of other authors which may have been meant to be predictions of the future. If viewed in this light the work of the writer of Daniel can certainly not be called a forgery but merely a moral and political pamphlet.

It should certainly be possible for intelligent christians to consider the book just as powerful, viewed, according to the Author's intention as a consolation to God's peo-

ple in their dire distress at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, as if it were what an ancient but mistaken tradition has made it, really an accurate account of events belonging to the close of the Babylonian period.

----------ooOoo----------

Note 33.---For the legends regarding Cyrus in general and especially the account of Herodotus, compare Floigl Cyrus & Herodot., Bauer Die Cyrussage, Schubert Herodot's Darstellung der Cyrussage, Breslau 1890. For the chronology of Cyrus and Cambyses compare Tiele, Gesch. 483 and literature cited, note 2. Büdinger, Die neuentdeckten Inschriften über Cyrus 39. 1884, Oppert and Menant Doc. Jurid. 262.

Note 34.---The date 538 instead of the usual 539 (see Unger Cyax. & Astyages 52. Nöldeke, Aufsatze 26.) is necessitated by the nine months' reign of Labaši-Marduk, unmentioned in the Ptolemaean Canon, (compare note 18, p. 135) which brings the date of the Fall forward by one year.

Note 35.---Unger op. cit. 52. Tiele 424.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

Additional Note A.

The Chronology of Cyrus.[33]

The last contracts of the reign of Nabonidus are dated in the month of Iyar (April-May) 538 B. C.[34] Babylon was taken on the 16th of Tammuz (July 15th), when Nabonidus ceased to reign. Cyrus entered the city, the 3rd of Marchesvan (October 27th) evidently assuming the reins of government at once, as the first known contract of his reign is dated in the following month in his commencement year ; i. e. Kislev 16th[35] (December 9th.) 538. His official first year did not begin until five months later ; i. e. Nisan, 538.

There is some confusion as to the exact duration of Cyrus' reign. Although the Ptolemaean Canon gives him nine years as king of Babylon, a contract exists, dated in his tenth year, giving him the title "King of Babylon and the Lands." (See Tiele Gesch. 483, citing Strassmeyer.) It is possible that this may be an error, or that the writer may have confused the last year of Nabonidus or the commencement months of Cyrus with the first year of Cyrus' reign. The twenty-nine years of Herodotus 1. 214. and the thirty years of Ctesias (Compare Cicero Div. 1. 46. Justin 1. 9. 30.) attributed

to Cyrus refer to his combined reign over Anšan and Babylon. It is therefore probable that Cyrus began to reign in Anšan either twenty or twenty-one years before he captured Babylon ; i. e. about 558 or 559; see Evers op. cit. 39 who sets his birth about 590.

B.

The Genealogy of Cyrus.

Cyrus was descended from the same stock as Darius Hystaspes. Their respective genealogies as given in the Cylinder and the Behistun inscription may be seen from the following table:

Genealogy of the Cylinder.	Cyrus son of	Darius son of	Genealogy of the Behistun inscription
	Cambyses "	Vistaspa "	
	Cyrus "	Arsama "	
		Ariaramna "	
	(Šišpiš) Teispis	(Ǫaišpiš) "	

The genealogy of the Achaemenian kings presents a hitherto unsolved problem, of which a brief statement may be interesting.

Darius Hystaspes in the Behistun inscription traces his

Note 36.---Compare Spiegel, Altpersische Keilinschr. 3. 1881.

Note 37.---Herodotus 7. 11. Μὴ γὰρ εἴην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστασπέος τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω τοῦ Τειΐσπεος adding there Τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Τειΐσπεος τοῦ Ἀχαιμενέος γεγόν

Note 38.---Herodotus 3. 70. see Spiegel op. cit. 83.

Halevy Melanges 6.

descent from Hakhamanis (Achaemenes) giving five generations of his ancestry but adding that eight of his family were formerly kings and that he was the ninth.[36] The eight generations can be made up from Herodotus who in his ancestry of Xerxes added three names between the Čaišpiš (Teispis) and Hakhamanišv (Achaemenes) of the Behistun inscription; Teispes 1., Cambyses, Cyrus, Teispis 2, Ariaramnes, Arsames, Hystaspes, Darius.[37] Hystaspes, however, according to Herodotus,[38] was merely a governor in Persia, though of good family and it is also probable that Arsames and Ariaramnes were never kings, nor are they called so in the Behistun inscription.

Comparing the record of the Cyrus Cylinder with the list of Herodotus, still further difficulties arise, as will be seen from the following table :

Herodotus & Beh.	Hakhamanis--Achaemenes		
Names given only by Her.	Teispis ?		
	Cambyses ?		
	Cyrus ?		
	Teispis		
Gen. of the Beh. and Her.	Ariaramnes	Cyrus I.	Gen. of the Cyrus Cylinder.
	Arsames	Cambyses I.	
	Hystaspes	Cyrus the Great	
	Darius	Cambyses II.	

Note 39.---Winckler Uag. 28 omits Achaemenes the "Ahnher "but he is especially mentioned by the account of Darius as the first of his house.

Note 40.---Diodorus Lib. 31. 19. also speaks of a Cambyses, father of Cyrus, and anterior to Theispes.

Note 41.---Amiaud Melanges Renier 260. accepts the genealogy of Herodotus and conjectures that the second Theispes may have been the first king of Persia to rule over Ansan.

Note 42.---Floigl includes them, (op. cit. 22) considering them kings of Hyrcania, (see p. 6-7.) and, in order to bring down the total sacrifices Cyrus 1., grandfather of Cyrus the Great. But the latter distinctly designates his grandfather as great king, king of Ansan ; Cylinder 21 !

Note 43.---Halevy Museon 2. 43. and Melanges 8. Winckler Uag. 128 hints at this. See in this connection Delatt Medes 53.

Omitting the three immediate ancestors of Darius[39] and only counting the other line, beginning with Cambyses II., son of Cyrus the Great, nine kings of Darius' family will be found instead of eight.

On examining the record of Herodotus (Teispes ? Cambyses ?[40] Cyrus ?) and comparing it with the account of the Cylinder, (Theispes, Cyrus, Cambyses, Cyrus) it seems probable that Herodotus has misunderstood the genealogies, placing two parallel lines in consecutive order, omitting the Cyrus after Teispes and introducing a second Teispes.[41] Adopting this supposition, and omitting the Teispes, Cambyses and Cyrus of Herodotus, the following family tree can be presented :

Achaemenes

Teispis

Ariaramnes	Cyrus I.
Arsames	Cambyses I.
Hystaspes	Cyrus (the Great)
Darius	Cambyses II.

Here again, if the three immediate predecessors of Darius be omitted as non-kings, there is an ancestry of only six, whereas if they be included there is a total of nine.[42] Of course the easiest way out of the difficulty is with Halevy[43] to cut the knot by calling Darius a liar and asserting

Note 44.---Spiegel adds before Achaemenes and Teispes two supposed kings of the same name. If Achaemenes, the founder of the dynasty, be conceived of as mythical (the "ἥρως" see Budinger op. cit. p. 6. Winckler Uag. 28.) and as never having reigned (Meyer Gesch. 559.) it will be necessary to supply three supposititious kings. For other opinions concerning this problem compare Rawlinson Jras. 1880. Oppert Medes 113 b. 162 b. refuted however by Spiegel op. cit. 84. Budinger 6. Evers 26 ff. etc., etc.

Note 45.---Inscription of Naqsch-i-Rustam 8. "I am Darius the great king, etc. son of Vistaspa the Achaemenian, a Persian son of a Persian, an Aryan son of an Aryan." Beh. 1. 14. 61 Darius says that the government, which Gaumata the Magian usurper took from Cambyses, had been in the family from most ancient times. This can only refer to the rule over Persia.

Note 46.---Halévy, Revue des Etudes Juives 1880. Comptes rendues de l'Academie des inscriptions, 7. 1880. Melanges 6., also Sayce Herod. 386; Fresh Light 167-175.
See however Delattre Medes 45-54 who refutes all of Halevy's theories in this connection.

that he purposely gave a wrong genealogy.

Concerning the early ancestry of the Achaemenians, practically all that can be decided at present is, that, if as seems necessary, Ariarammes, Arsames and Hystaspes be omitted, two unknown kings[44] must be included in the list in order to make up the total of eight claimed by Darius.

As will be seen from the above, the descent of Cyrus the Great is perfectly clear up to Theispes and that Theispes was not only an ancestor of Darius Hystaspes, but also an Achaemenian and an Aryan, is shown by the Persian inscriptions.[45] Cyrus was therefore not of Elamite origin or naturalization, as some have sought to show,[46] but an Aryan of Aryan descent, according to the opinion of the ancient writers both biblical and profane. Not only is Cyrus called King of Persia in the Babylonian inscriptions (see below page 161) but the testimony of the biblical writers as well as of Herodotus who drew from Greek, Lydian, Egyptian, Babylonian and Persian sources point to the same fact. (Compare the Scriptural references to Cyrus as a Persian or king of Persia. Daniel 6. 28. 2 Chron. 36. 22. 23. Ezra 1. 1. 2. 7. 8 : 3. 7 : 4. 3. In Ezra 5. 13. he is called king of Babylon. See in this connection Delattre Medes 48. 49.)

Note 47.---The place is specified either as al Anšan (city of Anšan) or mat Anšan, 5R. 64. 29. (country of Anšan) indifferently. The city and country evidently bore the same name. It is mentioned in the astronomical tablets in connection with Subartu. Compare Delattre "Cyrus dans les Mon. Assyr. 2. and for Subartu ZA 1. 196.

Note 48.---Jras 12. Rawlinson; Sayce Tsba 3. 475. thought that it was the part of Elam on the Persian Gulf. Compare Fresh Light 180. Meyer Gesch. 493. and 396.

Note 49.---Delattre Medes quoted Weissbach, Anzanische Inschr. 124 and also 123.

Note 50.---De Sarzec, Decouvertes en Chaldée pl. 19.

C.

A N Š A N.

The country of Anzan, or Anšan,[47] over which Cyrus and his three ancestors ruled has excited numerous conjectures. (Compare Evers op. cit. 30 ff. and literature there cited.) Some critics[48] have considered it identical with Elam, following the syllabary 2R. 47. 18. An-Ši-an(ki) Aš-šai-an---Elamtu, others thought that it was a city in Persis. (See Unger op. cit. 57.) That the name cannot be synonymous with Elam is shown in Taylor's Sennacherib 5. 31, where it is recorded that the king of Elam leagued against Assyria with a number of smaller states, among which was Ansan.[49] The latter therefore must have been an independent state but was probably at that time tributary to Elam, as 2R. 47. 18. seems to show. In early days it appears to have been a feeble power as it succumbed to the attacks of princes like Gudea[50] (Amiaud Zk. 1. 249.) and Mutabbil of Durilu (Winckler Uag. 116. 156. 157.) In the classical authors there is no mention of the place, but the Arab, Ibn el Nadim (Kitab el Fihrist 12. 22. quoted Jras. 12. 76.) speaks of an [illegible] in the district of Tuster (Shuster) which is probably identical with the Anšan of the Achae-

Note 51-- See above note 46.p158.

Note 52-- Evers op. cit. 39: Winckler Mag. 128. Amiaud, Melanges renier 260. note 3, refers the prophecy of the overthrow of Elam in Jeremiah 49. 34. to the conquest of that country by the Persians. Note that Ezekiel 32. 24. speaks of Elam as a conquered people. Compare Meyer Gesch. 560.

Note 53--The language of Ansan was Elamitic; cf. Weissbach 124. 125. Amiaud, Melanges renier 249. thought that Ansan was the most ancient part of Elam.

menians.

The title of king of Anšan proves nothing against the Persian origin of Cyrus,[51] whose family may have acquired this Elamitic country by conquest, perhaps under Teispes,[52] or some previous king. It is well known that in earlier times Anšan was ruled by a non-Aryan non-Semitic native line, and it may be supposed that all the Elamitic provinces, after the complete overthrow of Elam by Assurbanipal, were an easy prey to any invader. (See Delattre, Medes 51-52.)

With reference to the fact that the Elamitic Susa was the seat of the Persian power which has been cited by Halevy, (See Delattre, Medes 52.) as an evidence against the Persian origin of Cyrus, Strabo has given a satisfactory explanation. As Susiana, he said, became like a part of Persia. After the conquest of Media, Cyrus and the Persians, owing to the distant situation of their own country, established the seat of their Government in the more central Susa, the chief City of Susiana, which is not so far from Babylon and the other provinces. (Strabo 15. 3. 2. quoted Delattre l. c.) Now as Delattre has pointed out, had Susa been the hereditary capital, we would expect to find the Elamitic language

Note 54--Compare Behistun l. 14. 41: 2. 47. in the inscriptions of the second sort l. 15.,-Parsan: see Oppert, Medes 265, Schrader Kat. 372.

Note 55.- Compare Amiaud, Melanges renier 246. 265. This seems the most satisfactory explanation; Meyer Gesch. 602. attempts no solution of the problem. Halevy Melanges 116. believing in the Elamitic origin of Cyrus, considered that the term "King of Parsu" was used only by foreigners.

Note 56--Compare Tiele Gesch. 27. 195. 241. 193. 203. Hommel Gesch. 719. 739. 740. 744.

Note 57-- Tiele 304. suggested that the name Parsua may have been applied to Persia as early as the time of Sennacherib --

Note 58.- Amiaud Op. cit. 255. thought that because after the time of Sargon

as the usual idiom of the Achaemenian inscriptions. It seems probable that the Achaemenian kings and the Persians had at some unknown period of their early history, conquered and annexed to Persia proper the Elamitic country of Ansan. When, with the conquest of Media by Cyrus, a larger territory was at their disposal, a proper capital being necessary for the new empire, the splendor of the old Elamitic Susa influenced Cyrus to establish it as his head-quarters.

The name Parsu which is found in the annals is apparently used synonymously with Ansan. Cyrus appears to have been called indifferently by the Babylonians, either king of Ansan or of Parsu. (See Annals; column 2, line 1. and line 15. Whether the name Parsua (Parsuas) which in early days seems to have been applied either to Northern Media or to some part of that territory can be identified with the later Parsu--Persia must remain a matter of doubt. It doesnot seem impossible however that the old Parsua may have been the home of Persian tribes, who, migrating to the South carried the name to the regions about Elam. It is not unlikely that the names Ansan and Parsu after the Persian invasion of the former territory became synonymous in much the same manner as Gaul and France, Britain and England.

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no more is heard of Parsua, an emigration caused by the encroachments of the Assyrians may have taken place to Anšan. (?) Hommel Gesch. 783. suggested that the application of "Parsu" to the country South of Media, only began to be current in the reign of Cyrus (?)

Note 59-- Compare Amiaud Melanges renier 246.

A P P E N D I X I.

THE CYRUS CYLINDER AND ANNALS OF NABONIDUS.

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The Cyrus Cylinder is written on a barrel of unbaked clay, 9 inches long, 3 1/4 inches in end diameter and 4 1/8 inches in middle diameter.

Hormuzd Rassam, in the Victoria Institute Feb. 2, 1881, reported it as being the official account of the capture of Babylon.

The Text was published in 1880 by Pinches in the 35th plate of the fifth volume of Sir H. Rawlinson's Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, and lately, in Abel-Winckler's Keilschrifttexte p. 44 f. The first treatment of the inscription, transcription, translation, and commentary was published by Sir Henry Rawlinson J.R.A.S. XII. 70-97, 1880. Since that time translations have been given by Sayce, "Fresh light from the Ancient Monuments," 172 ff. Floigl, "Cyrus and Herodotus," 1881, Halevy Melanges - "Cyrus et le Retour de la Captivité," p. 4 ff. Tiele, "Assyrische und Babylonische Geschichte" p. 470 ff, a paraphrase; Hommel, "Geschichte Assyriens und Babyloniens." Lyon, "Assyrian Manual" 39-41, transcription. Eb. Schrader, "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek" III. pt. 2, pp. 120-127, a transcription and translation based on a

collation from a photograph; Delitzsch in "Mürdter's Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens 1891, p. 259, ff, a paraphrase, and finally O.E. Hagen, "Beitrage zur Assyriologie II p. 205 ff, 1891, transcription, translation and commentary from an entirely new collation, and R.P. V. p. 144 ff, a new translation by Sayce.

The Annals of Nabonidus are engraved upon a gray fragment of unbaked clay in double columns front and back. The tablet, as we have it, is about 4 inches high and 3 1/2 inches in breadth. For the exact measurements see B.A. II. 206. Notice of the inscription was given by T.G.Pinches, 1880. See T.S.B.A. pp. 139, 176, (cf. also Athenaeum 1881- p. 215. Sir H. Rawlinson who considered it the Annals of Cyrus, and Sayce, Academy March 13, 1881, XVII. 198.)

The Text of the inscription is given by H. Winckler U.A.G 1889, p. 154, and again lately from afresh collation by O.E. Hagen, 1891, Ba II. p. 248 ff. whose copy differs very slightly from that of Winckler.

The first translation of the document which was made by Mr. Pinches appeared T.S.B.A. VII. 1882, pp. 153-169 and was accompanied by an introduction, transcription and notes. The same scholar submitted lines 1-4 of c.II. to a new collation, the result of which appeared P.S.B.A. V. 10.

Translations and paraphrases of the document have been given by the authors mentioned above, as having presented translations etc., of the Cyrus Cylinder; the latest being that of O.E. Hagen, B.A. II. 2, 215 ff, with full commentary.

The following translation of the Cylinder and Annals of Nabonidus is based on no fresh collation but has been appended merely for the convenience of the reader. As the work of Hagen depends on the latest collation of these documents, frequent reference has been made to his publication, more especially in the mutilated passages.

The numbers refer to the textual and the letters to the additional linguistic notes.

1 Hagen - his + +

2 Hagen supplies "ma - ṭu - u" - a weak one, cf. B.A.II.230.

3 tamšilu - [illegible] - likeness, similarity, [illegible] "[illegible]" cf. Tamšil Xamânim I. 47, C. VI. 14, The form "tan-šil" occurs Sarg. Cyl. 64, cf.

4 Hagen - i - te - ni - ib - bu - uš "- he made.

5 Hagen - "pa - ra - aç" "Ein sie entehrendes Gebot." The word may be ~~either "parsu" or~~ "parçu;" "~~parsu~~" can mean a chamber or shrine ~~cf. Tig. VII. 105, anything barred off cf. ch. IV. p.~~ "parçu"--command is well known- H.T. 116, Z.B. 14, Asb. IV. 100:X. 62.

6 Hagen - "u ana nakrîtim." The traces in Winckler's K.T. seem to be "limut - tim nakrîtim" - hostile evil. "Nakritu" as substantive does not occur cf. B.A. II. 230.

7 Hagen adds uad(dima) - he appointed.

8 Hagen supplies (ša)- qi - se a - su - us - šu(?).

9 Hagen nis - e - su.

10 A. Hagen "(and left) their region."

11 Hagen "Zuwendung"(?)

A.

THE CYRUS CYLINDER, TRANSLATION.

----------oOo----------

1. + + ni - šu (1)

2. + + regions.

3. + + . (2) was appointed to the government of his land.

4. ši + + + a similar one (3) he established over them.

5. Like Esaggil 'i - te (4) + + + + + + tim unto Ur and the rest of the cities

6. a shrine (5) not suitable for them + + + daily he planned and for (6) enmity.

7. The temple offerings he allowed to cease (7) + + + he established within the city. The worship of Marduk, King of the gods (8)

8. Evil against his city he did (9) daily + + + + his people (10) by yoke which gave them no rest he ruined all of them.

9. At their lamentations the Lord of the gods was greatly angered + + + + (11) their side. The gods dwelling within left their habitations.

Note 12--Ibrêšu-Hagen translates "Sah sie durch". In note 13, he suggests šina instead of-šu (?) but it seems possible to regard the suffix as referring to Cyrus.

Note 13-- Hagen Ba2. 231. "Mit Drangsal."

10. in anger that he (Nabonidus) had caused to enter Babylon Marduk + + '

turned (?) to all the dwellings whose abode was cast down,

11. and the people of Sumer and Akkad who resembled corpses B .

he turned + + he granted mercy. C All the lands he search ed through; he saw him 12) ."

12. and desired the righteous Prince, the favorite of his heart whose hand he took; Cyrus king of Anšan; he called his name; to the kingdom of everything created he appointed him.

13. Kutu, the entire tribe of the Ummân Manda he made bow at his feet. The people of the dark heads whom he (Marduk) caused his (Cyrus',) hands to conquer,

14. in justice and right he cared for them. Marduk the great lord, merciful C (?) to his people looked with pleasure on his C pious works and upright heart.

15. unto his city Babylon he commanded him to go; he caused him to take the road to Babylon, going by his side as a friend and companion.

16. His extensive army the number of which like the waters of a river cannot be known, D with weapons girded on proceeded beside him.

17. Without strife and battle he let him enter into Babylon; he spared his city Babylon during the trouble. E 13)

Note 14--According to Hagen's collation the correct reading is "ina putaku u pakè ". See his explanation page 232. The accepted reading was "ina pusqi u pakè," in need and adversity.

Note 15--

Hagan translated machte mir geneigt (?)

Nabonidus who reverenced him not he delivered into his hand.

18. All the people of Babylon, all Sumer and Akkad lords and governors bowed before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced at his coming to the throne, their faces were happy.

19. The Lord who by his aid brings the dead to life, who is universally benevolent with care and protection, he blessed him joyously reverencing his name.[14]

20. I am Cyrus, the king of Hosts, the great king, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions,

21. son of Cambyses the great king, king of Anšan, grandson of Cyrus the great king, king of Anšan, great-grand-son of Teispes, the great king, king of Anšan,

22. of great royal seed, whose government Bel and Nebo love, whose rule they desire as necessary to their happiness. When into the city of Babylon I entered in friendship ~~as an ally~~

23. with joy and gladness I established my lordly dwelling in the royal palace. Marduk the great lord, made favorable to me the broad heart of the sons of Babylon and daily I cared for his worship.[15]

24. My extensive army proceeds peacefully into the midst

Note 16-- Hagen Betrübniss,. The word seems to be "Nakrî-tim". There are plain traces of the character "ri" before "tim".

Note 17-- Hagen "dannat babili" the troubled state of Babylon He reads Ki-kal--dannatu page 232.

Note 18-- H "sighing"

Note 19-- I read with Hagen "nitta-(?du ilutišu) çirti kul (lat matâti ?)

Note 20--Schrader has "ašib nabali." Lyon suggests "ašib-name." referring to K 246. 2. 13 and Ht. 87. cf. Delitzsch Zal. 420 note.

Note 21-- So Hagen page 233.

of Babylon. All Sumer and Akkad the noble race, I permitted to have no opposition.[16] (?)

25. The interior[17] of Babylon and all of their cities I cared for properly. The sons of Babylon + + as much as they desired + + and the yoke which was not suitable for them, their dwellings (?)

26. their disorder[18] I remedied. I caused their troubles to cease. At my favorable deeds Marduk the great lord rejoiced,

27. and me Cyrus, the king who reverences him and Cambyses the son, the off-spring of my body (and) all my troops he blessed

28. graciously, while we uprightly praise his exalted divinity.[19] (?) All the kings dwelling in royal halls,

29. of all the regions from the upper to the lower sea, dwelling (in all countries?),[20] the kings of the West land, all those who dwell in tents,

30. brought me their heavy tribute and im the midst of Babylon kissed my feet. From + + as far as Assur, and Susan,

31. Agane, Abnunnak, Zamban, Meturnu, Durilu, as far as

Note 22- For the succeeding extremely mutilated lines see Hagen op. cit.

the border of the land of the Quti, the cities across the Tigris whose sites had been established from former times.

32. The gods who live within them I returned to their places and caused them to dwell in a perpetual habitation. All of their inhabitants I collected and restored to their dwelling places;

33. and the gods of Sumer and Akkad whom Nabonidus, to the anger of the lord of the gods had brought into Babylon, at the command of Marduk the great lord in peace

34 in their own shrines I made them dwell, in the habitation dear to their heart. May all the gods whom I brought into their own cities

35 daily before Bel and Nebo pray for a long life for me, may they speak a gracious word for me and unto Marduk my lord may they say, that Cyrus the king who reverences thee and Cambyses his son [22] ----------

CYRUS CYLINDER

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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(A.) 1.9. "Kisuršun" - For "Kisurru" cf. V. 31, 3 .f. "Ki - Šur - (Ri ?) = Mi - Çir. The meaning seems to be "border" or "side," see Hagen p. 230. The word may have some connection with the Arabic "كسر" - side wall of a house - flap of a tent pl. "كسور".

(B.) 11. "Šalamtaš" - cf. "Axrataš" IR. Sarg. 44; V. 34, c. II. 48, and for adverbs in - A Š. D.G.²ʿ₆₀- Šalamtu, or reciprocal assimilation Šalandu is the same as שלם - שלם cf. Haupt Z.A. II. 266, N.5; Hebr. III. 187, and B.A. I. 3.

(C.) 1.11. "Tàra" - mercy used substantivally cf. V. 21, 54. "Tàru" - "Tiranu," - forgiveness, synonym of "Mustaru" V. 21, 57(B.A. I. 173)and ;.(56 = "Kiššu"--love. Ta-a-a-ra is an intensive form like "Dayyan" - "Taiiaru" see Zb - 102.

1. 14, Ta-ru-u- merciful(?)perhaps a derivative from Tàru - "to turn towards," i.e. "be gracious to." "Ta-ru-u" may be for "Târu" an adjectival formation with Nisbe(?) Hagen p. 231 compares V. 47, 17 a "Târanu" = Çillu and states that it is doubtful whether "Tàranu" may be a derivative of a stem "Târu" - to shield or not. "Tàranu", however can be a

formation with the ending "Anu" from "Tàru" just as "Mùtanu" from "Màtu" cf. also "Gàrànu"- running of tears.

It seems necessary to consider with Hagen ;l.c. the "Sa" in "Epsetiša Damqàta" as a byform of the masculine suffix "Su," although the explanation is far from satisfactory - cf. however l. 19, Tukultiša(- Su) and l. 28, Maxarša(- Su.)

(D.) l.16. Utaddu cf. IV. 15, 8 a "Kimakakkab Samami Ul Utaddu" - like the stars of the heaven they cannot be known. cf. also IV. 15. 43/44 a and Deluge (A.L. 3) 106. For the form see K.A.T.(2)73, Haupt.

(E.) ; .17. "Sapsaqu" - trouble - cf. Z b 95, M. Lyon Sarg. 80, 51. "Amiru Durge u Sapsaqe," he who sees steep and bad paths "also Lay, 43, 1, "Atamar Durug Sapsaqi," - the adjective is Supsuqu - passim.

(F.) ; .25. Subatsun - Hagen reads "Suzuz(?)Su-un," Safel of Nazazu and translates "the yoke . . . was taken from them." This however necessitates supposing an antirely new value "Zuz" for the character " ▷ ⊣ ". In addition to this, the meaning "taken away", for the "Safel" of Nazazu" (given by Delitzsch. Dw. 253) in the passage cited by Hagen op. cit. p. 232, to support his translation, seems by no means certain.

The passage reads "Sarat Zumrisu Uszizu" V. 50, 51/52, and is rather to be translated "one, the hair of whose body the evil "Rabicu" has caused to standup" (i.e. in fear) and not "taken away."

----------oo0Ooo----------

Note 1--Nunme so both Schrader and Hagen. (

Note 2-- -šu iššši hardly the ending of a proper name. See Floigl Cyrus and Herodotus 54. 55. note 1. who thought it referred to Croesus of Lydia.

Note 3-- iš-ši or iš-lim ? Hagen

Note 4-- reading doubtful ? I conjectured (e)-zib and find that Hagen has the same.

Note 5-- so with Hagen;probably not a proper name with determinative as Schrader has it

Note--6--for the ideogram see Br. 3036.

Note 7-- following H

Note 8--H. reads ša-di-i;why not ša-ki-i?

Note 9--So following H. iblu-uṭ.

Note 10-- H. Nabu-dan.—uçur

Note 11- Tam-tim so H.

THE ANNALS OF NABONIDUS.

(Beginning of the reign)

Col. 1.

1. - - - - - - - - - - - his leader[1] - - - - - - - - - - -

2. - - - - his - - - he took away[2] (?) the king - - - -

3. - - - - of their land unto Babylon they brought - - -

4.- - - - ti

(First year)

5.- - - is (iç,iz) xu-xu-ma he did not take away[3] (?)

6. - - ti (of?) their families as many as there were

7. - - - he left.[4] The king collected his troops unto Xume[5]

8. -iṣ-

(Second year)

9. - - - - in the month Ṭebet he gave peace[6] in Xamatu.

(Third year)

10. - - (in the month) Ab[7] the high[8] mountain Amanus

11. - - - ma, willows, fruit as much as there was

12. - - - their - - unto the midst of Babylon - - -

13. - - - he left and remained[9] alive. In Kislev the king (collected) his hosts.

Note 12 - "çalıt" - Passive Participle - to Hagen

14. -tim Nabu x ucur[10]

15. - - - - the sea[11] of the West land unto

16. - - - - - du-um-mu set up

17 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - numerous troops.

18. - - - - - - - - - - - - - (the gate)of the City of Sindini

19. - killed him.

20 - (te) -qu

21. -troops.

----------ooOOoo----------

Col. 2.

1. His troops he col(lected);against Cyrus king of Anšan to conquer him he went.

2. Against Astyages his troops rebelled, and being taken[12] prisoner to Cyrus(gave him.)

3. Cyrus unto Echatana the royal city, went. The silver, gold, treasures, spoil---

4. of the land of Ecbatana they captured and unto the land of Anšan he brought. The treasure and spoil which (ud---)

5. The seventh year; the king in Tema, the son of the king

note B — rising - see Arqwin: "ki Salmu" can only mean "as is right" - as H. discovered.

the nobles and his army in the land of Akkad. (The king for Nisan)

6. unto Babylon came not. Nebo unto Babylon came not. Bel was not brought out. The New year's festival (remained unperformed.)

7. Sacrifices in Esaggil and Ezida to the gods of Babylon and Borsippa (as is right)

8. they gave. The "Urigal" poured libations and guarded the palace.

9. eighth year. ([illegible])

+ + + +

10. ninth year. Nabonidus the king in Tema the son of the king, the nobles and army in Akkad. The king for Nisan to Babylon

11. came not. Nebo unto Babylon came not. Bel wasnot brought forth. The New Year's festival remainded unperformed.

12. sacrifices in Esaggil and Ezida to the gods of Babylon and Borsippa, as is right they gave.

13. The month Nisan. The fifth day. The mother of the king died in Durkarasu, which is on the bank of the Euphrates above Sippar.

14. the son of the king and his army mourned three days. A lamentation took place. In Sivan in Akkad,

15. a lamentation for the mother of the king took place. In Nisan, Cyrus king of Parsu collected his troops.

16. below Arbela the Tigris he crossed (?) In Iyyar to the land of ---

17. its king he killed. Its loot he took. His own governor (?) he made go up there.

18. Afterward his governor remained there together with the king (?)

19. The tenth year: the king in Tema; the son of the king, the nobles and his army in Akkad. The king for (Nisan to Babylon came not)

20. Nebo unto Babylon came not. Bel was not brought out. The New Year's festival remainded unperformed. Sacrifices in (Esaggil and Ezida)

21. To the gods of Babylon, as is right, they gave. In Sivan the twenty-first day - - - -

22. of the Elamite (?) in Akkad - - - - the representative in Erech - - - -

23. the eleventh year, the King in Tema. The son of the king, the nobles and hi s army in Akkad. (The king for Nisan unto Babylon came not)

24. Nebo unto Babylon came not. Bel was not brought out The new year's festival remainded unperformed. Sacrifices (in Esaggil and Ezida)

25. (To the gods of) Babylon (Borsippa, as is right) they gave - - -

(18 lines wanting)

Col. 3.

1. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

2. - - - - - - - in Adar Istar of Erech - - - - -

3. - - - - - - Kings of the land of the sea - - - - -

4. - - - - - - - - - - (plural) ni - - - - - - - -

5. - - - - - - Nebo from Borsippa to go forth - - - -

6. - - - -ab, the king unto Eturkalama entered in the month - - - -

7. - - - - u (?) of the lower sea rebelled - - - -

8. (Nebo came unto Babylon) Bel was brought out. the new

note 14 --- See p 131 note 12

note 15 --- Hagen reads SAR.SAR = nytaggir = see page 245. - For the value "gagarie" for SAR see Brünnow No. 4317.

note 16 --- Tukku me with "Sie" determinative = so Hagen.

year's festival they celebrated, as was right. In the month - - - - Šarruturda and

9. the gods of Maradda, Zamama and the gods of Kiš, Belit and the gods

10. (of) Harsagkalama entered into Babylon. Until the end of Elul the gods of the land of Akkad.

11. Those who are above as well as those below the firmanent (?) entered into Babylon. The gods of Borsippa, Kutu

12. And Sippar entered not. In the month Tammuz, when Cyrus gave battle on Opis.

13. (and?) [14] on the Salsallat to the troops of Akkad, (to the people of Akkad he made) The people of Akkad

14. he subdued. Whenever they collected [15] he slew the people. On the fourteenth day Sippar was taken without battle.

15. Nabonidus fled. On the sixteenth day Gobryas, the governor of Gutium and the troops of Cyrus without battle

16. entered Babylon. Afterward Nabonidus, although he had shut himself, was taken prisoner in Babylon. Until the end of the month shields [16] (?)

Note 17 [illegible] = rapadia - read "irpudum".

Note 18 GAB - labana = of S 6.242 - H. reads "albanum".

Note 19 The following are too mutilated to give any connected sense.

17. of Gutium surrounded the gates of Esaggil. No weapons were in Esaggil and in the other

18. temples, and no standard had been brought in. Marchešvan third, Cyrus entered Babylon

19. the "Xarine" lay down before him. Peace was confirmed to the city. Cyrus pronounced peace to all Babylon.

20. Gobryas, this Satrap, as satrap in Babylon he appointed.

21. And from Kislev until Adar the gods of Akkad which Nabonidus had brought down to Babylon

22. unto their own cities he returned them. On the night of the eleventh Marchešvan Gobryas against - - - -

23. the son of the king died. From the twenty-seventh of Adar until the third of Nisan mourning took place in Akkad.

24. All people cast down their heads. On the fourth day when Cambyses son of Cyrus

25. went to Esapakalasummu - - - - - - - -

ADDITIONAL LINGUISTIC NOTES

To The

ANNALS OF NABONIDUS.

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A.

Col. II. 6.

Isinnu Akitu cf. also Pinches Texts 15, No. 4, 7, the New Year's festival or Zagmuku (= Reš Šatti, רֹאשׁ שָׁנָה) See Eih. 23, "Ina Isinim Zagmuku."

Isinnu.-- pl. Isinate (See I.R. 66, 3, 7,) = "festival" probably from a stem √שנה - cf. Assinnu - a sort of Priest, II. R. 32, 22, e.f. and IV. R. 31, 12.

The form Isittu, Sb 263, must as Zimmern remarked, (Z.B. 31, N.1) stand for Isintu - a feminine formation from the same stem as Isinnu. For Isinnu cf. HT 80, 18; V. 31, 50: Nim. E.P. 75 6: San SM. 119: Asb. S.M. 119, 17: 126, 77.

Akitu - perhaps some sort of sacrifice - (So Hagen B.A. II. 238) - See Eih IV. 7 - bit Niqè Akiti Çirti. It is possible as H. suggests that "Akiti Çirti" is in opposition to Niqe. For Akitu cf. I.R. 67, c. I. 35, and P.T. 17, 7.

B. 8. "Urigal" - Massu Biti - Sb 13, some sort of priestly office. cf. P.T. 17, 16.

C. 16. Diglat Irab. - According to the latest collation by Hagen (B.A. II. 240) the sign Rab is clear. The meaning

"crossed" is therefore by no means certain. It may signify "approached" - H. cites in this connection the form B.A. II. 61 - Erabuni and K.T. 33 - Irabanni as the only instances of such a verb.

D. 18. Šulitsu from Šulitu, probably a shaphel feminine formation from Elu, to go up, i.e. one who is set up, or appointed, with fem. ending as in Pixatu - Prefect, governor.

(Note here that Šalutu V.R. 11. 11 f. and Šulutu Sanh. IV. 48 are usually understood to be from Šalû to decide Z.B. 99.)

Hagen translates in this passage "Garrison" citing W.B. 427, 11 ff. where Delitzsch demonstrates that "Šulu" can mean "bring soldiers into a fortress.

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APPENDIX II.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

John Dyneley Prince, the writer of this dissertation was born in New York City on the 17th. of April, 1868. He entered Columbia College, New York, in 1884, and graduated from that institution in June 1888 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. His Bachelor's Thesis was entitled "Notes on the Language of the Eastern Algonkin Tribes" and appeared in the American Journal of Philology 9, No. 3. He was appointed representative of Columbia College on the expedition to Babylonia, which was sent out from Philadelphia in the summer of '88 under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania.

In this capacity and as General Assistant to the Director, he accompanied the expedition to the East. During his travels in that part of the world he became interested both in the study of Modern Turkish and in the history of Babylonia and Assyria, as revealed by the cuneiform inscriptions. After his return from Asia he went directly to the University of Berlin, where he spent two Semesters attending the Lectures of Professors Dillmann, Kleinert,

Sachau and Schrader. In the autumn of 1890 he came to the Johns Hopkins University, where he has since pursued Semitic studies under the direction of Professor Paul Haupt.

He received the appointment of Fellow in Semitic during the session of 1891-1892.

The writer takes this opportunity to express his gratitude to Professor Haupt for many kindnesses, and especially for the constant guidance and personal attention which have been given him in his studies from the very first.

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